great mercy than in doing good ed us, and in having compas despitefully used us! The hour despitefully used us! The hour when our sole ground of demercy and forgiveness of God, of feel and act in our relations South that we can repeat in of our Lord: Forgive us our ive those who trespass against wledging that He has indeed e and received gifts for men; also, that the Lord Ged might J. G. W.

CLARATION. Four years ago, hen present at the raising of Independence Hall, Philadel

ired of myself what great p that kept this confederacy so something in the Declaration ing liberty, not only to the peo-ut hope to the world for all to ts should be and that all should have an Now, my friends, can d upon that basis. If it can alf the happiest man in the save it. But if this country iving up that principle—I was ather be assassinated upon the

OF MR. LINCOLS. Three or Mr. Lincoln. Themman I spoke of told us a story in I have not thought of since, ir. Lincoln received the news e came home to tell Mrs. Lincoln reasons in the bedroom; news, in walking about the name the bureau glass. Immediate-lower more the lounge, and told own upon the lounge, and tod the must be ill, for he saw a the must be ill, for he saw is face in the glass which be. It was perfect, but very pole-acoln, "that means that you it I don't like its looking pale," to I don't like its not ing the like to soks as if you would not like term." Mr. Lincoln himself I mentioned, and this gentleour parlor, soon after the first made quite an impression on one forgets such things. Warr. of a Country Gentleman.

ROBERT E. LEE. To the Editor ROBERT E. LEE. To the Editoript: It is proposed (providing invorable approbation) to lender a grand reception in New York in prisoners, to show their high gnanimity. He will be received seneral Officers selected from so have been the recipients and chivairous treatment daring a welcomed by these gentlemes, ormed to escort him through the rebel musicians (now all Unissolumn, playing advance." The band will be notered on parole in many ranks. advances. The band with the motto, "You can never sympathizers with banner, ik louder than words." Souther, banner with portraits of Disparantee with portraits of Disparantee froutrum." Returns "par nobile fratrum." Retu ner draped in black, portra porcine couchant, motto, " dersonville, Macon, Columba

dersonville, "and the sword, a is mightier than the sword, a carriages—banner with portrait ampant. Prisoners from Bels ("Bonnie Blue Flag," —base back to Old Virginny." The the public a general idea of the public a gen back to Old Virginy.

e the public a general idea of a sufficient fund can be raised of friends of those who have misen killed with kindness while contribute largely. It is also ough will be raised to purchaston, and present it to Gen. Leading the purchaston, and present it to Gen. Leading the purchast pass the remainder may thus pass the remainder may thus pass the remainder the purchast four years has so richly characteristics.

ay be sent to
essrs. H. U. MILITY and
C. OPPERHEAD,
Marked Via Nassau, N. P.

ALISBURY PRISON. Gen. Storous pen at Salisbury, wheel in prisoners pined their live in prisoners pined their live. I States prisoners were found. States prisoners were found. Knoxville. They preferred it atripes than be left in the loationary.

are the rebel rams? Mari

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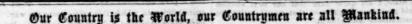
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riod on reasonable terms. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-Irania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are rised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1865.

The Diberator.

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THIRTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Phonographically reported by Jas. M. W. YERRINTON.] [CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

SAMUEL MAY, Jr .- I do not mean to take up any more time with a speech, but simply to offer a resolation, as an amendment to that of Mr. Garrison, or in the acceptance of the Business Committee, or to he on the table. Friends around me, who agree with me in the sentiment of the resolution, desire that it hould be offered for the action of the Society :-

Resolved, That, in view of the adoption by Conof the Amendment to the Constitution, forever hims slavery in the United States; of the ratifi-already of nearly the necessary number of a and of the moral certainty of soon obtaining sales, and of the moral certainty of soon obtaining afficient remainder; the Society recognizes the war approach of the period when it may and should lisale its organization; and its officers are hereby attorized and instructed, whenever the Constitution-Anti-Slavery Amendment is fully adopted, and sale the law of the land, to declare this Society dislved, in view of the accomplishment of the end to which it was pledged.

OLIVER JOHNSON seconded the resolution as a sub-

STEPHEN S. FOSTER-Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The death-bed is always an interesting and solemn occasion. It is doubly so when the indisidual about to take his departure is not only a warm personal friend, but has completed but half his days, and his departure will be a heavy public calamity. Such, it seems to me, are our circumstances on this secasion. We are considering whether this Society shall still live, or whether its existence shall be termimid-not by any act of an overruling Providence, ot by our own direct, intentional agency. I feel that it is the most solemn occasion on which I ever stood hefore an anti-slavery audience; for on the decision of this question, it seems to me, hinges, to a very great extent, the future of our country. What is the question before us, sir? It is whether

this American Anti-Slavery Society, that has fought-

mearnest battle for the last thirty-odd years, and, as we think, a successful one, bringing about, as we contend, in a very great degree, the present hopeful and promising condition of our country, shall now retire from the stage, and give up the work entirely into other hands, or whether it shall go on and contime to wage this war with slavery until the last fetter shall be broken, and its object shall be completely and perfectly achieved. Sir, if we disband to-day, the mmunity, not only on this continent, but on the other, will wish to know why we disband, and they will demand the reason why we have terminated the stence of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and we shall be obliged to give that reason. What is the Pason? What reason are we prepared to assign? here can be but one of two that will be satisfactory he first is, that the work which we organized to ac complish has been done, completely-that there is othing more for us to do, and, therefore, we should band; the other satisfactory reason is, that though he work remains incomplete, the machinery of this rganization is not the best possible with which to acmplish the work, and, therefore, we should disband organization, and create another to take its place. Now, are we prepared to give either of these reasons nd to substantiate it? Is our work done? Mr hairman, what did we organize to do? Our Constiution and Declaration of Sentiments answer that ocation; and by consulting these, we find that the bject was two-fold-first, the abolition of slavery condly, the elevation of the colored people to an equality with the whites, and to the full enjoyment of their social, civil and political rights and privileges. That was our work, and that second part of our work as introduced into a separate and distinct article of our Constitution. Shall I read it to you?

Agr. 3. This Society shall aim to elevate the chandre and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral with the whites of evil and my may, according to their intersectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites of civil and reigious privileges; but this Society will never, in my way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force."

Then, in the concluding paragraph of the Declare tion of Sentiments, they say :

"Submitting this Declaration to the candid exam ion of the people of this country and of the friends iberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our ligratures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the rulance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most executable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest care—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the colored ar national escutcheon—and to secure to the colored belong to them as men and as Ame —come what may to our persons, our interests, or epitation—whether we live to witness the tri-tof Liberty, Justice, and Hubarkty, or perish-ely as martyrs in this great, benevolent and holy

Now, Mr. Chairman, is that work done ! Are the stored people in this country to-day in the "full enment of all their rights and privileges equally with whites "? Answer me, ye who can! Is there has bitter prejudice existing throughout the whole austry to-day, that puts its heel upon the negro, and nto the very dust? And have you not a the head of the Government, to-day, a man who has publicly declared that he would sink the whole Afriin race ten thousand fathoms deep to save this Union

MAY-No Mr. FOSTER-You have, unless the press belies the

Mr. May-What paper has this news?

Mr. FOSTER-I don't care what paper has it. Mr. May-I wish to say, that that statement hav by been made public, I took a great deal of pains to hortain, by writing to Washington, whether that was aid; and from the best information I can get, coming Dr. Wm. Elder, of Pennsylvania, through the her Mr. Channing, President Johnson said something that kind about four years ago, and was then con-

silered as going considerably in advance, because he

emancipation as an alternative.

OLIVER JOHNSON-I will also state, that the Washington correspondent of the Standard, to whom I wrote on the subject, told me he had consulted the intimate friends of President Johnson, who pronounced it a slander, (applause)-declaring that he had never, at any time, uttered any such language.

Mr. FOSTER-I would suggest to our friends that their testimony is not admissible on this occasion.

Mr. Johnson-It is as good as that of any anonymous correspondent.

Mr. FOSTER-The correspondent is not anonymous. I would suggest to our friends, that if they desire to slave. It is a forced emancipation, and the moment know the truth in this matter, the proper party to be the force is withdrawn, the crime will be repeated. applied to is the person making the charge, not per- It seems to me that the only hope for the negro is in sons who know nothing about it. Why does not our imprinting the law of justice upon the America friend, Mr. May, call on the Commonwealth to say whether it is true or not? That is the way to get at have to do. When that is done, we may disband, but the facts. If the Commonwealth has belied the Presi- not till then. When that is done, there will be no dent, let it be arraigned as a false witness. I hold negro cars, there will be no disfranchisement of mer that to be a crime next to the crime committed by

Mr. PHILLIPS-Mr. President, the correspondent from whose letter that statement is taken is one of the best and most reliable men in the country-Mr. Wm. G. Snethen. The letter was written for the purpose of bearing eulogistic testimony to President Johnson; with no intention to disparage him. The correspon dent was merely stating the readiness of the President to give the sufffrage to the negro, if necessary. His testimony is as good as that of any other individual in the United States until it is disproved. A gentleman who stands here says he has, within two years, heard the President make exactly the same remark in Philadelphia. There is nothing at all singular in it. The same sort of remark was uttered by President Lincoln himself, but he had not the merit of adding, as President Johnson did, when somebody cried out in the crowd, "Free them, Governor, and let them vote," "I would do that, willingly." President Johnson was so far ahead; and when Mr. Snethen mentioned the circumstance, he mentioned it to praise, not to disparage the President; and knowing him as I do, personally, as a reliable man, and friendly to President Johnson, I certainly shall not allow. on this platform, that the negative testimony of men who say they never heard the language is to weigh against his, who says he did.

Mr. Jounson-I really desire to know the truth of this matter. When did President Johnson make that Well, I go there, and what am I ? You go there, and speech? Does Mr. Snethen mean to be understood that that speech was made two years ago, or since

the inauguration of Mr. Johnson as Vice President?

has quoted I presume he takes from a recent speech the counsels—the working men are nobodies. The of mine in regard to the death of President Lincoln. leading men-your ministers, your lawyers, your I then said, in honor of the present President, that educa the only word he was known to have uttered on the trol everything. What were you told here yesterday subject of negro suffrage was contained in a letter of in regard to the meeting of the newly-formed Freedthis correspondent; and I read as follows:

"The Vice President was holding forth very eloquently in front of Admiral Lee's dwelling, just in tront of the War Office in Washington. He said he was willing to send every negro in the country to Africa to save the Union. Nay, he was willing to come from Asia, and sink the whole African race ten thousand fathoms deep to effect this object. A loud voice sang out in the crowd, 'Let the negro who who is on the platform—whether it is a Major, a stay where he is Governor and give him the believe. stay where he is, Governor, and give him the ballot, and the Union will be safe forever! 'And I am ready to do that too!' (loud applause,) shouled the

I did not state, Mr. Snethen does not state in his ought to be, in all its departments-civil, social, political political control of the cont letter, when he uttered it. (" Hear hear.") He states cal and religious. We set ourselves the example of where he uttered it-in front of the War Department freedom to our countrymen, and ask them to follow in Washington, and that he heard him. At this it, and proclaim liberty such as ours "throughou point Mr. Pillsbury handed Mr. Phillips the first part all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." Now, it of the letter referred to, and after reading it, Mr. P. any of our friends are sick of a free platform, if they said]-Yes, putting the whole letter together, I think want an organization controlled by individual men of he does. [Mr. P. read the letter, by which it appears distinguished position in the community, let them go that the speech was made immediately after the fall off from us, and organize a Society to their own tast of Richmond.] Is that speech to the credit of the Sir, I shall not go with them. I claim the privilege President? Have you many public men who have as an old member of this Society, of remaining. In said as much? I did not notice the time when I asmuch as no one can carry anything away by its dis quoted this remark. I did not care when it was ut- solution, as there are no effects to be divided among tered. I wanted a word from him, and I got it. He its members, I only claim that they shall go out from said he was willing to give the black man the suffrage. us, and leave us with the machinery that can be o I contend there is nothing in the paragraph which no possible use to them. If they cannot work with us shows any such malignity towards the President as to let them withdraw, and go to work outside. If they detract from the weight of the testimony. Until some cannot work with us, we will give them the hand o one comes upon this platform and says, "There was cooperation in other organizations, and bid them God no such meeting, and no such speech, I am competent to affirm it," and no man has a right, with the ini-

letter, to affirm that it is a lie. Mr. FOSTER-I would ask this audience, candidly. to point out the difference, if they can, between the spirit of this speech and the spirit of this speech and the spirit of the Dreu Scott bound to respect." What is this speech ? Mr. Johnson the negro ? The Constitution has always guarantee over the country to-day.

race for the same purpose.

Mr. FOSTER-Of course he would. He would sacrifice the rights of millions of men to save the gov-

Mr. Douglass-Will you allow me suggest, tha

race and the Union to the black race, etc. ! It was only a rhetorical flourish. MR. FOSTER-Well, Mr. Chairman, I hope there ras more rhetoric than principle in it; for I do think the sentiment, if it is to be interpreted literally, horrible beyond conception; I am not willing to think we have a man with that spirit at the head of the gov-

said he was ready to give the colored people entire better of him. But, Mr. Chairman, while we have a public sentiment that will telerate such expression, it seems to me that it is no time for this Society to disband. What did we organize to do? Why, if I understand it, it was simply and solely to write the law of justice on the American heart. We discarded the idea of forcible emancipation, such as we have to-day We have precluded ourselves, by our Constitution from taking any part in such emancipation. We declared that we would never countenance the slaves in resorting to physical violence to defend their rights. But we have none other than an emancipation effected by physical violence to-day. The Southern States have not voluntarily relinquished their grasp on the

SLAVES

HORSES

heart. That is the only work which, as a Society, we on account of color, no hooting after black men when they walk arm in arm with white men through your streets-all these things will disappear, and we shall not know that there are any colored people in the community; the idea will not present itself to any man that there is any difference of color. When that time comes, as it seems to me, it will be proper for us to disband, but not until then.

Now comes the question, is ours the best kind of organization to accomplish this work? Sir, if we have, as we claim, achieved so glorious a victory when the whole community was against us by this kind of machinery, can we not hope speedily to accomplish the little work that remains to be done by the same machinery? It seems to me that this old and time-approved organization had better be retained rather than to embark in something new and untried If we disband to-day, what kind of an organization will you give us as a substitute ? One essentially the same, or one organized on different principles? It ought to be remembered by every Abolitionist that our organization is peculiar. There is nothing like it in the country, nor probably in the world. What is its peculiarity? It has a free platform, and it is the only free platform in the country. Your Freedmen's Aid Associations have not free platforms. This is the only platform in the country where freedom of speech is tolerated and allowed, where all men meet as equals, where every man is a man, and nobody is ore. Tell me of your Freedmen's Aid Associations what are you? You have no right of speech there. No matter what thoughts are burning in your bosom you cannot give them utterance. They have restricted Mr. PHILLIPS-This statement which Mr. Foster platforms; invited speakers make the speeches, give men's Association? Why, that in addition to the

who is on the platform-whether it is a Major, a Squire, a Dencon, a Doctor, or who it is-we ask you ready to do that too!' (loud applause,) shouted the Governor, with intense energy, whereat he got three for the noble sentiment. I witnessed this seene, and was pleased to hear our Vice President take this high ground; for up to this point must the nation quickly advance, or there will be no peace, no rest, no prosperity, no blessing, for our suffering and distracted country." unadulterated, a specimen of what the whole country

tials of that correspondent's name at the end of the Sir, I am sorry to have any of our old and trie friends leave us. It grieves me to my very heart that he who has stood first and foremost in this figh ecision. What was that decision? It was, that by others, to disband when the Constitutional Amend "the negro has no rights which the white man is ment is adopted. Sir, will that secure the liberty of says he would sink the whole negro race ten thousand the freedom of the black man at the North, but has athoms deep-for what? To save a government for he been protected? On the contrary, has not man the white man. Now, does he recognize in the negro after man been sold into Southern slavery, with the any rights which he is "bound to respect"? For regis of the Constitution over his head, and has not what does this Union mean but a government for the the Federal government been powerless to protect whites? I can put no other interpretation on it him? Have not even your own white men of the And this is the spirit of the manifestations we see all North been utterly unable to claim their constitutional A VOICE-Perhaps he would sink the whole rebel give up four millions of slaves into the hands of their enemies, with no protection but simply a parehment Constitution ! You can at best but make the Constitution, as many of us believe it has always been, thoroughly and radically anti-slavery. I don't care a straw about the Amendment to the Constitution. It the President only meant that he preferred the white touched it. Every right which it guarantees to you or me, or to the tallest white man on this continent, it

guarantees to the humblest slave. Mr. Chairman, I hope and pray that we shall con sider deliberately this question, before we take the step, which can never be retraced, of dissolving this Society, while the slave is still in his chains, and the negro of the North is under the heel of the bitter preernment. I had thought better of him, and still think Judice which exists against him.

face, so there are some speeches that need no intro- been proscribed, hunted, torn of dogs-living the duction. Mine is not one of these. Since I have same life, fleeing from the same death, almost, as the been sitting here, listening to this discussion this slaves—there is not a Union man in the South save my life thirty years, and that I could say of those solute equality and justice. thirty years that they had been devoted to this cause -as you, sir, and others here can say-that I might have the right to say what is on my lips to utter. I speak it but by your courtesy-by the courtesy of that if the years had been mine, I think they would say to them-aye, to the father of this So

made on the Garrisonian abolition platform, that this stand correctly, this Society was formed, not simply off the chains and manacles of the slave, but as a as one can see a General, the second in command of our great armies of the Union, and, so-called, of free-tinued applause.) dom, standing up deliberately in his lot and placefacing a beaten traitor's army-yielding to it-flinging aside the game of four years of battle and blood -trampling under foot all for which this war has been may be once more established—and so long as there is long as there is a public sentiment that will recognize ists, the work of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as an educator, has not been accomplished. (Applause.)

The argument has been urged here that this Sociknown as the Freedmen's Association, will take its banner of Slavery is trailed in the dust. But beyond this, if this assertion that these Freedmen's Associations will take care of this thing, and that this Society can disband, be true, can its members go into these other associations, one after another, and do their work there, cooperating with these new workers? Sir. if these new workers stood as earnest, as willing as eager, to do justice to the black man as you and those who have worked with you for thirty years, they would come up to your platform, not ask you to go down to theirs. (Enthusiastic applause.) And beyond that, it has been asserted here that these men, represented by the presiding officer of the meeting last night, could do your work, and that you stood ready to cooperate with them. Sir, three months ago, I stood facing an audience in the city of Baltimore, an audience composed of Union men-the staunchest and firmest and truest, they told me, they had in that city. Yet among them not a black face was to be seen! In the Maryland Institute, devoted to free speech, in the Maryland Institute, in which eve ry Union speech, so called, has been made, not black man could stand to plead his cause; nay, not a black man could sit to listen to my pleading. In addition to this, when, facing this audience of Union men-this audience, composing the Freedmen's Asso. ciation, and the like-this audience among whom were leading officers of the free State of Marylandwhen, facing this audience, I said, simply, "I will not plead this question on the broad and everlasting ground and rock of justice; I will ask you to save prevent rebellion and treason extending triumphantly that the old state of things, when we mingled togethwas not a single response among those thousands of fact.

people present. And in addition, these men, gather.

In regard to the Society itself, what is its efficient. to have truth on our side." These men desire to have truth is union and victory. You, sir, and those about triumph of liberty. you, have always desired to stand upon the side of

fact, that as there are some books that need no pre- sir, a Union man in the South, save those who have morning, I have almost wished that I had added to these, with the conviction that the Union means ab-

And now, what do I ask of you? I have trespassed upon your time already. I have spoken some words, perhaps, that may sound as if in censure. If so, I want to say that no one more than I honors every men and women who differ from me in their belief on member of this Society; no matter what stand they this point-of men and women who have done their may take, no one more than I recognizes how my duty through all these years of time. I can only say, work is as a mite to their mountain; and yet I will the noblest and grandest man, almost, that America I say thus much to plead my right, or, rather, to or any other country has produced. (Loud applause.) beg the privilege of saying this : that I hope, as an I will ask you, sir, (turning to Mr. Garrison, who sai American woman who has given five years of earn- in the pulpit,) because the slave knows you and not est and constant labor to this cause, whose highest another, to stand at the head of the Society that is boast it is that her first speech, so to be called, was recognized the world over as his friend. (Great applause.) Sir, I ask that this Society, as it has stood Society, on whose platform she stood then, on whose for thirty years in the past, high above all parties and platform she stands now, will never be dissolved un- sects, so to stand in the future. And you, sir, (again til there is no longer reason for me or for any one else turning to Mr. Garrison,) I ask you, sir, as the name to stand up and demand the rights of any human being in this country. (Loud applause.) If I undername that will stand when all party names and the names of all the politicians of your time shall have to give freedom to the black man, not simply to strike been swept aside—as the name that Humanity wil stand up and call blessed—as the name that the freedgreat public educator, to teach the nation justice and man will mention in his prayers forever, and hand the rights of man. Has this nation so learned ! Has down to his children's children-I ask you, sir, to hold this work been accomplished? I trow not. So long this standard, until God takes it out of your hands, and says, "Come up higher !" (Loud and long-con-

Mr. GARRISON-If this were a struggle about fundamental principles, it would be a grave occasion to me, and I should regard this discussion as of very considerable importance. But as there is really nothing waged Virtually recognizing every traitor govern- of principle at all involved in it—as it is only a quesment in every Southern State—admitting that slavery tion of usefulness, only a matter of opinion whether this Society has essentially consummated its mission such a state of public sentiment in this country as as originally designed—I feel perfectly indifferent as will lead the people to throw up their caps and hur-to the manner in which it shall be decided. Nothing rah when the name of Sherman is mentioned—so is more clear in my own mind, nothing has ever beer this man as a good officer, a worthy citizen, a gallant solve our organization, and to mingle with the milmore clear, than that this is the fitting time to dis soldier so long as such a state of affairs as this exto establish justice and liberty throughout the land. (Applause.)

I cannot help noticing here a singular fact, that while the great body of the Executive Committeeety can now stand aside; that this new organization, those to whom you have entrusted the managemen of this Society for so many years-are entirely conplace. In reply to that, I repeat, in the first place, the work of the American Anti-Slavery Society has have those who are not members of this Society, who not been accomplished; the last slave does not stand in some instances have been unfriendly to it, who free; and I do not believe (as has been well put this morning) in striking the banner of Abolition until the servation of the Society, and disposed to come in and

Mr. FOSTER-They have not appeared this morn-

Mr. Garrison-I do not know how many have ap peared this morning, pro or con, as I have been absent part of the time. But I say that Mr. Foster has no been a friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the sense of cooperating with it, for some time past, nor a friend of the Anti-Slavery Standard. say, further, that Mr. Phillips has not been friendly to the Standard for a year or two past, as conducted by its present editors with the approval of the Execu tive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery S

ciety. Yet the Standard is the only instrument w have left to us : and that instrument he has desired to strike down, rather than have it used as it has been since this rebellion broke out. I do not think I over state the matter.

Mr. PHILLIPS-I think you do. Mr. GARRISON-Then correct me.

Mr. PHILLIPS-I have thought that the manage ment of the Standard should be changed. For the last two years, it has not represented the sentiment of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as expressed by the resolutions of its Conventions. I would have changed its editorship; I would not have destroyed it.

Mr. GARRISON-I mean simply to say, that on the part of several of these earnest advocates of perpetnating the Society, there has not been a cooperative spirit with the Executive Committee and with the yourselves, to save our country, to save our flag, to Anti-Slavery Standard; and it is, therefore, a proof in the future, to put the ballot in the hands that have er like kindred drops into one, no longer exists. We held the bayonet, fighting for your homes "-there are a divided house, and it is uscless to deny the

about me afterwards, said I had gone altogether cy? Nothing. When did it present its last Annual too far ; I had said altogether too much; they were Report to the public ? In 1861! What agents does it not ready for that state of affairs vet. Sir, men who send forth? None. What donations are made to its so speak are not fit to have trusted in their hands, treasury? None. What means have we to continue without check, without any voice to call them up the Society 1 None. The last Subscription Anniver shigher, the fate of these four million and a half of sary has been held; and that was the only source to people. (Applause.) Nay, more; a gentleman said which we could look for any pecuniary support. The to me that night, standing in the ante-room of that Society has merely a nominal existence. Now, I am hall, (as the conversation was a public one, with a doz- not troubled on that score, but rather filled with joy, en or more standing round, I can repeat the assertion.) because THE NATION has become quickened, re "It is very well for you, a Northerner, a woman, and vated, redeemed; and the work of abolition, therea Garrisonian Abolitionist, to come into this hall and fore, so far as the determined purpose of the people face this audience, and make such appeals; we canis concerned, is substantially accomplished. As it
not do it; I cannot do it; I am not ready to do it, respects the abolition of slavery, we are no longer peand these people are not ready to listen." That man, culiar. Once we stood and were obliged to stand sir, was the presiding officer of the meeting last night alone, and represented about all the abolition sentiat Cooper Institute. And when you think of trust- ment there was in the land; now the millions of peoing this matter in the hands of such men, remember, ple who have voted on this question, and the States protection in the South, and secure it? And shall we as wiser lips than mine have said, "It is one thing to that have registered their verdict for the aboliwish to be on the side of truth; another thing to wish tion of slavery and the amendment of the Constitution, have changed the position of this nation from truth on their side, because truth is popular, because darkness to light, and from the rule of slavery to the In regard to giving the black man his political

truth. In the name of these four million and a half rights, it is in vain for us to say that, by keeping towas as anti-slavery as you could make it before you of blacks, in the name of humanity, in the name of gether as a little association, we shall be peculiar wittruth, I ask you to keep your banner floating from nesses in this matter; because there are hundreds of the topmost peak and outer wall, and let those people thousands of people who are with us, and who are decome to it, not strike your colors and go down to manding the same thing. ("Hear hear.") Almost fight with them on the plain beneath! (Tremendous all the loyal presses at the North are in favor of going applause.) For, as George Canning, I believe it was, as far as ourselves, I believe, in this matter; and I well said in the British Parliament, when the propowill venture to say that, throughout the free States, sition was under discussion to put this matter of leg- you may go where you will, and you will find but islation for the freed blacks in the hands of the old supporters of slavery, "while human nature remains viction, therefore, is, that as the abolition of slavery

ANNA DICKINSON-Mr. Chairman, I recognize the the same, they are not to be trusted." There is not, is substantially effected, we had better dissolve this Society, and if there be need of an organization to carry forward the effort to secure the elective franchise for those who have it not, organize such an association on that hasis. Nobelly will object to it and that will be doing a specific and legitimate work. But the American Anti-Slavery Society is not a Society to be kept in existence, it seems to me, after slavery has been abolished beyond all reasonable doubt.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

the inhabitants thereof."

"Ilay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

ltary authority takes, for the time, the place of all munic-

pal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST;

and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the Passident of THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY,

HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civin, service, or foreign, from that instant the war powers

of Congress extend to interference with the institution of

slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERPRED with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-stroyed, to the cossion of States, burdened with slavery, to

a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a w

power; and when your country is actually in war, whother it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to corry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, AC-

conding to the Laws of war ; and by the laws of war

an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-

tions swept by the board, and WARTIAL POWER TAKES THE

PLACE OF THEE. When two hostile armies are set in martial

cipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."-J. Q. Angure.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON. Printers.

True, the technical objection is urged that slavery still legally exists. Well, let us see how much of sla very legally exists, and how much there is in that is sue. What of slavery in the District of Columbia ? That, surely, does not legally exist. What of the Fugitive Slave Law ! That does not exist. Any slave, held anywhere, under any form of government, on our soil, can take his liberty into his own hands, and go where he pleases, and the United States government will not molest him or make him afraid. What of the President's Proclamation of January 1st, 1863 ? More than three million slaves were legally set free by it. What of slavery in Maryland? It does not exist. In Tennessee ! It does not exist. In Missouri? It does not exist. In Louisiana? It does not exist. In Arkansas ? It does not exist. In Kentucky ? It does not exist, except as a rope of sand. And as for the small number of slaves in Delaware, what is Delaware against the overwhelming, irresistible and irreversible decree of this government and people that slavery shall die the death everywhere? What of the Constitutional Amendment ! Twenty-one States have already adopted it. There is not another State to vote upon it that will not adopt it, whether it be a State in the Union now, or a reconstructed State. Every one of the reconstructed States must come in on the basis of abolitionism, and will vote for the Amendment Practically, therefore, absolutely, to all intents and purposes, slavery is dead in this country; and to object to the dissolution of this Society, on merely technical grounds, in view of such facts, is, it seems to me, not worthy of ourselves as sensible men and

When the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized, and until four years ago, the religious bodies of our country were against us, and against the slave ; they are now for us, and for the slave, and for the extermination of the slave system. The government was then against us: it is now for us. THE PEOPLE were then against us; they are now for us. Then we held up our little torch, because it was thick darkness throughout the land; but now that the heavens are all aflame, and effulgent day has succeeded murky night, we are admonished of the vast importance of keeping our little torch burning, as of old! (Loud applause.) Though abolition is now the most popular sentiment in the United States-though it pulls down and lifts up-though it is as irresistible as Niagara in its onward course-we are earnestly and pathetically conjured not to dissolve an association which has not peans to send an agent into the field. has made no Annual Report since 1861! My friend, Mr. Phillips, as it seems to me, has for

gotten how he viewed the rebellion at the outset. Let me refer to a few passages in his speeches. And I will begin with a speech delivered by him when we had no emancipation proclamation—when we had no Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution, but were under the old "covenant with death." In a speech delivered at Music Hall, Boston, April 21, 1861, he then exultingly said-" For the first time in my antislavery life, I speak under the Stars and Stripes." Yet, did they not symbolize, at that time, "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell " ?

Mr. PHILLIPS-They did.

Mr. Garrison-Yet our friend gloried in speaking under the flag at that time !

Mr. PRILLIPS-I did.

Mr. GARBISON-But with what consistency or proriety, according to his present mode of reasoning? Further-" I welcome the tread of Massachusetts men marshalled for war!" What! To maintain "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell!" Again -" No matter what the past has been or said; today "-in-1861-" the slave asks God for a sight of this banner, and counts it the pledge of his redempmay have meant what you thought, or what I did To-day "-in 1861-" it represents Sovereignty and Justice." Yet, though we have gone leagues ahead of 1861, in the way of securing justice and freedom for those in bondage, the tone of our friend Mr. Phillips is now anything but jubilant. I do not understand his logic or his philosophy.

Again : "The war is not aggressive, but in self-de fence, and Washington has become the Thermopyles of Liberty and Justice." And yet, slavery was in Washington at that time; human beings were then bought and sold in the capital; the Fugitive Slave Law was then everywhere enforced. But Mr. Phillips at that time looked to the inevitable results of the war. and he clearly saw what it meant-freedom for all in bonds ! Again-" Massachusetts blood has consecrated the pavement of Baltimore, and those stones are now too sacred to be trodden by slaves." How prophetic ! Maryland is free! "When Massachusetts goes down to that Carolina fort to put the Stars and Stripes again over its blackened walls, she will sweep from its neighporhood every institution which hazards their ever bowing again to the palmetto." That prophecy, too, has been fulfilled.

Again: "This war means one of two things-Emancipation or Disunion. Out of the smoke of the conflict there comes that-nothing else." No doubt then-what room for doubt now ! We have got Emancipation, and hence there is to be no Disunion. But mark this language: "My interest in this war, simply and exclusively as an Abolitionist, is about as much gone as yours in a novel, where the here has wen the lady, and the marriage has been comfortably celebrated in the last chapter." And this in 1861! Nay, more: "I know the danger of political prophecy; but, for all that, I venture to offer my opinion, that on this continent the system of domestic slavery has received its death-blow." (Applause.) Yet not a single chain had then been touched! Now we have millions rejoicing in their freedom, and the Constitution of ou country unquestionably amended so as forever to ensure freedom for all on the American soil. special need, then, of this Society as an anti-slavery instrumentality? Have we not consummated our

great object ? Am I not justified in saying in 1865 what my friend Mr. Phillips said in 1861; "Exclusively as an Abolitionist, I have little more interest in this war than the frontiersman's wife had in his struggle with the hear, when she didn't care which side whip ped." (Laughter.) It was in 1861, also, that he said

"To-day the question is, by the voice of the South,
'Shall Washington or Montgomery own the continent?' And the North says, 'From the Gulf to the
Pole, the stars and stripes shall atone to four millions
of negroes whom we have forgotten for seventy years;
and, before you break the Union, we will see that justice is done to the slave.' All of you may not mean
it now. Our fathers did not think in 1775 of the Decleasties of Independence. The Long Parliament reverthought of the scaffold of Charles the First, when they entered upon the struggle; but, having begun, they made thorough work. It is an attribute of the Yankee blood—slow to fight, and fight once. It was a holy war, that for independence: this is a holier and the last—that for Liberty."..." There is only one thing those cannon-shot in the harbor of Charleston settled—that there never can be a compromise."

I could read a great many more such passages, all affirming that this war would effect universal emancipation, and that from the Atlantic to the Pacific s man being would be left to pine in bondage. Hence I rejoice to believe that the American Anti-Slavery Society is no longer needed to agitate for the abol tion of slavery, and that whereas it was once vitally important that our testimony should be heard, because all others were dumb; now, all over the land, voices are heard as loud, as strong, as vehement, as eloquent, in favor of universal freedom, as have ever been heard on this anti-slavery platform.

My friends, let us not any longer affect superiority when we are not superior (hear, hear)-let us not assume to be better than other people, when we are no any better. (Applause, and cries of hear, hear.) When they are reiterating all that we say, and disposed to do all that we wish to have done, what more can we ask? And yet I know the desire to keep to gether, because of past memories and labors, is a very natural one. But let us challenge and command the respect of the nation, and of the friends of freedom throughout the world, by a wise and sensible conclu sion. Of course, we are not to cease laboring in regard to whatever remains to be done; but let us work with the millions, and not exclusively as the Ameri can Anti-Slavery Society. As co-workers are eve ry where found, as our voices are every where listened to with approbation and our sentiments cordially en dorsed, let us not continue to be isolated. My friend Mr. Phillips, says he has been used to isolation, and he thinks he can endure it some time longer. My answer is, that when one stands alone with God for truth, for liberty, for righteousness, he may glory in his isolation: but when the principle which kept him isolated has at last conquered, then to glory in isolation seems to me no evidence of courage or fidelity. (Applause.)

Friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, this is no "death-bed scene" to me! There are some in our ranks who seem to grow discouraged and morbid in proportion as light abounds and victory crowns our efforts (applause); and it seems as if the hour o the triumph of universal justice is the hour for them to feel the saddest and most melancholy! We have had something said about a funeral here to-day. A funeral because Abolitionism sweeps the nation! A funeral? Nav. thanks be to God who giveth us the victory, it is a day of jubilee, and not a day to talk about funerals or death-beds! It is a resurrection from the dead, rather; it is an ascension and beatification! Slavery is in its grave, and there is no power in this nation that can ever bring it back. But if the beavens should disappear, and the earth be removed out of its place-if slavery should, by a miraacle, come back-what then? We shall then have millions of supporters to rally with us for a fresh

I thank you, beloved friends, who have for so many years done me the honor to make me the President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I never should have accepted that post if it had been a popular one. I took it because it was unpopular; because we, as a body, were everywhere denounced, proscribed outlawed. To-day, it is popular to be President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Hence, my connection with it terminates here and now, both as a member and as its presiding officer. I bid you an a fectionate adieu.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER-Mr. Chairman: A vor grave charge has been brought against me by the President of this Society, to which I feel I have a right to reply. It is known to you all that I have the American Anti-Slavery Society; that I have been prompt in my attendance at its meeting, and taken n its operations; and yet the President tells you that through all these years, I have been the deadly enemy of the Society, seeking its destruction. I have the right to demand the retraction of this charge,

or the proof to sustain it, and I do. A great deal of importance is attached to the Con stitutional Amendment. Do you know how that came to be brought about? One year ago last autumn, our earnest and devoted friend, Susan B. Anthony, who, with our other friend, Elizabeth C. Stanton, had been laboring for some time in this city is order to secure the passage of such an amendment by Congress, finding her funds fail, went to the city Boston, and met the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. After staying in Boston two or three days, I think, she came to me with her hands hanging down, and her heart utterly discouraged. She said she could get no word of syn nathy or cooperation in Boston, and was going back to New York to close her office and give up in despair. I felt very sad, revolved the matter over in my mind, and finally said to her, the next day, "Susan, I see one ray of light. By the sacrifice of my own per sonal feelings, I think I can render you some assistance to go on with your work, and have resolved to make the sacrifice." Immediately I left my busines -which was then pressing-started for Boston, went to the house of our President, William Lloyd Garri son, and in the most earnest manner in my power be sought him to lend his influence to this movement I then went to other members of the Executive Com mittee, and asked their cooperation, and pledged my self to use my utmost influence with the Hovey Trust Committee, of which I was a member, to se cure the appropriation of \$3,000 to the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be expended by Committee of that Society in cooperation with a Com mittee of the Hovey Trust Committee, for the pur pose of securing this great Amendment to the Co tion. And I was happily successful in that undertak ing. Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips accepted the propexition, and the Executive Committee of the Ameri can Anti-Slavery Society at last accepted it; al though, Mr. Chairman, one member of that Commit tee, who had always been a trusted friend of this So ciety, said in that Committee, in my hearing, that she would throw that money into the sea, before she would use it to send out agents to secure this Amendment of the Constitution; and another member said he would sooner use the money to procure colored re cruits. There is a specimen of my hostility to this

Mr. Garrison says I have refused contribution the funds of the Society. The contributions I have refused were not of my own money, but money en trusted to me by my beloved friend, Charles F. Hovey, to be expended in my best judgment; and my judgment was, that it should be expended in this grea work of securing the Constitutional Amendment. Mr. Garrison says I have not contributed of my own funds; and he gives you the reason. He tells you ociety has been dead for the last four years, and I have chosen to give my money to a living move ment, and not to the administrators of a dead Society

WENDELL PHILLIPS-My friend, Mr. Garrison, observed that this is no question of principle, it is mere ly a question of means. Certainly that is true. But 1833, the question of establishing the American nti-Slavery Society was not a question of principle

it was only a question of means. A man might be ed out to shield them-and yet this society asks leave an Abolitionist, and work efficiently, without the principle of association. When he and his double score of coadjutors, in the city of Philadelphia, Well, I have no scales to weigh sins formed this Society, any man had a right to say to did not organize itself to free four millions of slaves them then, as he says to us to-day, "This is no ques- it organized itself to free the slaves, to abolish the systion of principle, gentlemen, it is only a question of means." That fact, therefore, does not place us on any different level from that which we have always there is work. But what does Delaware say? This

ciety an efficient aid in doing that work ?" I answer both these questions in the affirmative. There is something to do, and this organization gives us additional means of doing it. Of course, I agree most cordially with all my friend says about the amount that has been done. No man doubts that. He cannot paint the sky so bright that I will not rejoice at cruel in him to inflict my speeches on you again; (laughter;) and yet, I have not a word of those es to take back. (Applause.) I said the best thing I could at the moment. I tried to lift the pub-lic sentiment higher and higher whenever I met my fellow-citizens. Now, my complaint against th Standard is, that for two years it has not done this work. My friend says all the loval papers talk as well as the Stancard. They have done so for two years, and that is my complaint. As the organ of the Executive Committee, I originally instructed that paper to announce such truth and illustrate such principle as would lift the community; I never instructed t to stand on the level of the Republican party Now, my charge against the Standard, which is no tinge of personal bitterness whatever, is, that when the community were ready for the general idea of emancipation by the War Power, the Standard wasbut it indicated nothing more. I went about and tried o bayonet the President into the Proclamation of ipation. After a while, the Standard advocated it. When I had gotten it, I instantly changed my base, and demanded of the people an Amendment of the Constitution. The Standard staid where it was It was some time before it took ground in favor of the Amendment of the Constitution.\* Well, when the Amendment was granted, I instantly changed my base again. Having clutched from the nation the parchment, I wanted a guarantee behind it-suffrage, and the crippling of State Rights. (Applause.) Nov

I claim that the duty of the Standard was, all this

while, to have kept in the van of the nation, and not

to advocate only what four men out of five or seven

men out of ten were ready for. That is the duty

which I think devolved, and now devolves, on the

American Anti-Slavery Society. Now, one word in regard to the matter of efficiency, to which Mr. Garrison alluded. He says that since 1861, we have had "a name to live, without any life." My respected friend has been here year after year to atetings in this church-they did not seem very dead! For the last three years, we have held meetings in Massachusetts and meetings here, under the auspices of this Society, and they never seemed dead ! I appeal to any man of this audience, accustomed to go to this outside world to which my friend refers, and ask for money, if this Society is worth nothing. Suppose he should go to a merchant converted within these two years, and say-" Sir, here is this plan for the freedmen, this for the refugees, that for agitation, that for a journal "-and suppose that merchan could look up in his face and say, "Sir, what do you want my thousand dollars for? The Anti-Slavery Society has dissolved and gone home, announcing that the work is done. If that is the fact, I have no money to give. If that flag were flying, if Mr. Garrison and the other gentlemen who have studied this question for thirty years, and have given their lives to it, said there was something more to be done, you should have my money; but if this work is done, if there is no more negro and white man, why need I go out of my counting-room? I can use my money better than that. Does not such a supposition show that this Society ought not disband while anything remains to be done ? Every practical man knows that when this Society announces to the public that the work is done, it will make a difference in the pecuniary contributions of the newly-converted of 83 or 50 pe cent. If this Society never had an agent again, if i never made a speech or held a meeting, it has a value beyond statement in the very fact that the just constanding behind it, recognizes by the fact of its very existence that it calls upon the nation to complete the work. These men are willing, anxious to put their and prudent men allow that there is something still to be done. I will allow Mr. Garrison all that he claims, that we have no reports, no agents, no money, and I will place on your platform disinterest. ed witnesses to testify, that in the cities of Philadelphia, Boston and New York, their hands would be held up in filling the treasuries of auxiliary associations by the fact of our existence, and that they would be materially crippled by the announcement through the New York press that this Society considered the cause of the Negro race on this continent finished. I say brothers in this Anti-Slavery work, that this is the practical use of this organization, even were it what Mr. Garrison represents.

Mr. Garrison tells you Kentucky is all right-practically free-laughs at any troubles. I will read you a

LOUISVILLE, KY., April 28, 1865. LOUISVILLE, KY., April 28, 1899.

"'If slavery could only get'—mark you not 'slavery has got'—'its death-blow in this State, it seems to me that the end of it might be taken for granted. But just let Wm. Lloyd Garrison step out here, if he wants to see slavery in full blast."

Mr. Garrison-But in 1861, the death-blow was given to slavery everywhere, as our friend testifled

Mr. PHILLIPS-Can I not grow wiser ? [Applause.] Mr. GARRISON-The growing wiser consists in this: that in 1861, when not a fetter had been touched anywhere, it was declared that the death-blow to slavery had been given; but when, every where, chains of peril! (Applause.)

Society." [This letter was not addressed to me, but has been handed to me by friend. 1 "Numerous instances have come to my knowledge of rebels beating their slaves in this city for expressing sentiments of grief at the death of the President, and the military authorities, so far as I know, have taken no means for

In the city of Louisville, black men in chains are whipped for expressing grief at the assassination of pudiate the idea of conceit or presumption. We de-President Lincoln, and no arm of authority is stretch-

\* I solemnly declare that these statements of Mr. Phil-

Phillips, neither privately nor publicly, ever called it to account? During that whole period, he was on intimate and friendly terms with the Editors, and, so far as I am concerned, I aver that he never gave the slightest hint of disantifaction. He was a member of the Executive Com-mittee, which had full control of the Standard, and could there said with their own lips, "We don't accept this mittee, which had full control of the Standard, and could call its Editors to account at any time; and yet never, to my knowledge, did he utter one word of secusation or complaint. He was present at the Annual Meetings of 1862, '83, and 64; why did he not then present his indictionent, instead of postponing it till this late day?—Editor which the anti-slavery body behind them gave to

My friend says Delaware is a handkerchief State. Well, I have no scales to weigh sins. This Society letter is written to me, and dated May 4, 1865. It is coupied. A Society is merely a means.

In the remarks I made yesterday, I said the first from one of the most earnest workers, a man high in department of this question is, "Is there anything office, tireless, indefatigable, disinterested, self-sacri more to do? and the second department is, Is this Soficing: ficing :

"Pardon, me, my dear sir, if I express the ple "Pardon, me, and that the announcement of your action concerning the American Anti-Slavery Society has given me. While Delaware and Kentucky (and you might add New Jersey) remain as slave States, it is no time to discovery remain as slave States, it is no time to discovery leaves of them. Delaware and Rentucky (and you might and N Jersey) remain as slave States, it is no time to band. If your Society has no other work, let the kind enough to lend us a helping hand. In the State, the spirit of slavery is more determined adesperate than ever, contesting every inch of ground you have seen enough of our leading anti-slavery in to know to know that they lack neither courage to be they are overhouse by the number. perseverance, but they are overborne by the numb of the opposition, and disheartened by the indiffere of the Administration heretofore. If our anti-slav riends in the East would only direct their efforts to this State, I am quite sure that our next election would give us a Legislature that would ratify the Constitutional Amendment."

Shall we dissolve while a man battling on the skirts of the question in a slave State still asks us to keep together and hold up his hands? What right have we to dissolve?

It is entirely accidental that I should be able to preent to you these two letters, from the very States referred to by my friend. They beg us for not to disband. They do not think us so very small we are enlarged in their vision. At any rate, we are banner, a principle, a symbol, a something that enheartens their courage and strengthens their hands. Why pull it down? It is not a question o the formation, it is a question of the continuance of Society. Why should it not be continued?

I might go round the board, giving the same testi onies. In the very Standard where my friend th editor, sitting in our chair, announces that there is no work to do, I find printed the opinion of no less a man than George Bancroft. He has studied history ome advantage, and instead of saying, as my friend the editor does, "slavery is gone, there is no more work for us to do," the orator of the Loyal League says-" It is a great delusion to say slavery is dead She is marshaling her hosts for the last dread effort.' I ask you, Abolitionists, with such testimony, wheth er it even hangs in doubt that slavery is dead or not But did we pledge ourselves in that Constitution that we would perhaps abolish slavery ? that we would end our work when it was a matter of debate whether slavery was abolished? If I have proven nothing else, I have proven at least that it is not a settled question. The jury have not rendered their verdict. the court has not given judgment. What right, then, have we to dissolve, under our pledges? My friend paints the picture so bright, that he forgets that, in re gard to the law of the question, we are yet all loose. I wait to see the announcement of the power that has the right to declare the law-why should you not wait to know that, practically, the Union power had reached the waves of the Gulf of Mexico, and there was not a slave actually in the hands of a maste When I know that the flag floats everywhere in sight of the negro, and that the Amendment is in the Contitution, then I will allow that the dissolution of thi Society is an open question. Now, I object to my friend Mr. May's proposed amendment, for this reason. I want to meet this question squarely, as my friend Mr. Garrison presents it. If you are in favo of his resolution, say so-my conscience is discharged. But if you are not in favor of it, say so, and leave us the Society. When six, eight, or twelve months hence, the Secretary of State announces that the amendment is ratified, and is a part of the law, then the Executive Committee looking over the continent, oticing and appreciating that the parchment ratifica tion is a fact, will know whether the time for dissolu tion has come or not. We are competent to be trusted with that question, just as other Executive Commi tees have been. It it is necessary, we will call you together, (if I happen to be on the Committee,) and submit it to the Abolitionists of the country. But do not tie our hands to it. Time enough for of dissolution when the enemy has sent in his notice verted man sees the pressure and personal influence of surrender. He has not sent it in yet. I would not really, in my heart, have this Society dissolved Christianity. That is a long time ahead. That is my contributions into a channel where disinterested philosophy; but I submit to the judgment of others and it may be that, far this side of that, when the la is all right, and the black man stands without a fetter it will be your conviction that the Society should dissolve. I do not know-but I assert, that to-day, the law is just as much against you as it was on the 4th of Dec., 1833, and every lawyer will tell you so You cannot, therefore, dissolve, consistently with your pledge. And as for the substantial system itself, it covers, to say the least, a half a million of slaves to day, whom our armies have not yet reached to free. No time, therefore, to dissolve. We keep together, because we want the country to understand that there is work to be done. We keep together to do it. The treasury is not empty. You can carry on the Standard with the money now in the hands of the Treasurer for four months. Poverty will not compel us to dis solve. There is no argument in it. (Applause.) We stand here to-day with reputation and funds and voices and hands to put slavery sixty fathoms deeper than plummet ever sounded; and while we have voices and the treasury has funds, and it is possible to keep that flag which means thirty-five years of experience, flying the American Anti-Slavery Society has a right to speak. My friend says it is presumption, it is selfconceit. I do not read it so. There is a false humility; and he will let me say, that he himself, having given life and intellect to this question, does not stand like the lordliest statesmen of this county who have een converted to it within the last two or three years. They are his pupils, and ought to be, and it is not pre are rent asunder, my friend regards the future as full sumption in him to say to them, "Gentlemen, I un derstand this subject better than you do." Mr. PHILLIPS-Let me read on :- "I am glad to see law professor at college used to say, "Gentlemen, it that Wendell Phillips still insists on keeping up the is not conceit for me, who have studied law for eixteen hours out of the twenty-four for twenty years, to say I know law better than you do." I hold that it is neither presumption nor self-conceit for a body of men, who for twenty-five years have given to this question all the intellect God ever gave them, to say to the country, " We are competent to advise and counsel you on a question of this magnitude, when the great issue of its settlement is in debate." not stand fused and melted into the general public. Our friend, Miss Dickinson, said truthfully-and she referred to the same honest, disinterested, intelligent "I solemnly declare that these statements of Mr. Philips are not true. The Standard did not wait for "the general community to get ready," but, from the instant that the war broke out, with earnest and constant iteration, urged Emancipation by the War Power. I defy Mr. Philips to prove that he was one day, one hour, or one second in advance, of the Standard in urging the President to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation, or in advance, of the Standard in urging the President to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation, or in advance, of the Standard in the meeting, thould have denied them on the spot. I meet them now, the instant they have come under my eye, and declare them to be witifout a shadow of foundation.

I am amazed and confounded that Mr. Phillips has brought these charges against the Standard, not less so than I should have been if he had accused it of supporting the rebellion. If they are true, why have they been kept back to this late day? If the Standard was thus false to the cause in 1861, 62 and 63, why was it that Mr. Phillips, neither privately nor publicly, ever called it to account? During that whole period, he was on intimate the count of the standard was the false to the cause in 1861, 62 and 63, why was in that Mr. Phillips, neither privately nor publicly, ever called it to account? During that whole period, he was on intimate the count of the standard was t

idea of suffrage. It is an idle abstraction; it is a sen

timental impossibility. Nobody can venture before

Henry Wilson did this morning, "We go for giving every man the ballot." (Applause.) What converted them? I do not say we did, but I say we did our share towards it. I say we were a large rill in the river that bears their gallant barks on to-day; that river is not yet so lordly that it can afford to spare the was a member, if I had thought it respectful to do so. smallest rill; and I am for keeping all the sluices, even our own little channel open, to swell the flood

on which the State shall float into a safe harbor. I tell you, Abolitionists, that, although I have been quoted as reflecting upon the Vice President, I believe his right hand on the helm of government to-day. man, and to offer a resolution on this occasion, ex(Applause.) I think that, amid the many gracious pressive of our feelings, for the adoption of the So-President, Abraham Lincoln, the hour of his death President, Abraham Lincoln, the hour of his death was the greatest. "Felix non vitash tantum claritate sed etiam opportunitate mortis"—"Happy in the moment of his death as in the lustre of his life"—as the Roman said, for he died at that exact moment when all the qualities with which God had gifted him had been exhausted in the service of the nation. We have a strong hand in these compine hours: "We needed a sterner hand in these opening hours; we needed a brain and a heart fitted and inspired by domestic peril and bitter experience for the sponsibilities to which this crime opens the way. I have never expressed a doubt with regard to President Johnson. I believe in him. I believe he means suffrage. But I believe that, if you were to ask him to-day, here on this platform, "Sir, can we do any thing by keeping together, or shall we separate and melt into the general public?" he would say, with my correspondent from Delaware, and my correspon dent from Kentucky, "For God's sake, hang together, and hold my hands up!" (Applause.) He knows that his Administration has none too great strength and that if we can give him an iota, he cannot afford to lose it. But I will not prolong my remarks. I hold here another letter, from Syracuse, in this State, signed by Charles D. B. Mills, an efficient and devoted friend for twenty years-too long to be read at thi hour-in which he repeats, with the same earnest ness of expression, the hope that this Society will not dissolve, but will go on until, in his view, the

MARY GREW-I rise so say, that if the Society is ready now to have this question taken, I am ready to have it taken; but if the discussion is to proceed, I would like to say a few words.

work to which we pledged ourselves is accomplis

Mr. GARRISON moved that the question be taken of the resolution offered by Mr. May as a substitute for his own, and the question having been put, the substitue was declared lost.

On motion of Mr. Garrison, it was voted that the question on his resolution be taken by Yeas and Navs.

OLIVER JOHNSON, from the Committee on the Roll reported a list of members, and it was accepted, with the understanding that further names might be subsequently added. MR. GARRISON then read his resolution, and the roll

was called, with the following result: Yeas, 48; Nays, 118. So the resolution was rejected. The announcement of the report was received with loud and

Mr. GARRISON then offered the following resolu tions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That, in the removal, by death, since Whitson, of Pennsylvania, one of the signers of the Anti-Slavery Declaration of Sentiments in 1833, the cause of the bondman has lost as upright, faithful, true-hearted and unfaltering a supporter as ever gave to it his hand, his heart, and his benefaction; and this Society one of its earliest, most beloved, and mo appreciated members; and we shall ever cherish in or

of Massachusetts, the anti-slavery cause has also lost two of its long-tried and devoted friends—the former having been among its most eloquent, intrepid and powerful advocates, and the latter distinguished for his generous hospitality and noble uprightness of char-

The following resolution, submitted by Oliver Johnon, was also unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are he by tendered to Mr. Sigismund Lasar, organist, and to each member of the Choir, whose appropriate and ex-cellent musical performances contributed so much to the interest and impressiveness of the Anniversar

GEORGE THOMPSON-I would venture to bring to the notice of the meeting two deaths which have rewho, for their liberal contributions in England, with special reference to this country, and for their incessant labors, by their voices and their presses, to the very last hours of their lives, in the cause of Emancipation and Union on these shores, deserve some tribute at your hands at this time. It will be a satisfaction to your friends in England to know that their .virtue and worth are recognized by this assembly. I am not prepared with any formal resolutions, and I will simply move, that you record the expression of your deep regret at the death; during the last year, of Samuel Lucas, Esq., the principal proprietor, from the commencement, of the London Star newspaper, and of Washington Wilks, Esq., its principal editor; I myself being able to testify, and there are others present, I believe, who can confirm what I say, that the cause of this country and of human rights had never more disinterested and seldom more gifted friends.

Mr. Thompson's motion passed unanimously. Mr. FOSTER, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers for the ensuing

President-William Lloyd Garrison

Vice Presidents-Gerrit Smith, New York; George B. Cheever, D.D., New York; James Mott, Pennsylvania; Mary Grew, Pennsylvania; John G. Whittier. Massachusetts; Benjanin Snow, Jr., Massachusetts; Peter Libbey, Maine; Nathaniel White, New Hampshire; Elizabeth B. Chase, Rhode Island; Abby Smith, Connecticut; Lucy Stone, New Jersey; Thomas Garrett, Delaware; Marius R. Robinson, Ohio; Wm. Hopkins, Indiana; Thomas Chandler, Michigan; Caroline L. Morgan, Wisconsin: Alonzo J. Grover, Illinois; Rev. Caleb Green, Minnesota; Lot Holmes, Iowa; George W. Benson, Kansas; Dr J. N. Hawks, South Carolina; N. C. Dennett, Flor-

Treasurer-William I. Bowditch.

Corresponding Secretary-Charles K. Whipple. Recording Secretary-Aaron M. Powell.

Executive Committee-Wendell Phillips, Bourne Spooner, John T. Sargent, Richard P. Hallowell, Sarah J. Nowell, Caroline R. Putnam, George L. Stearne, Abby K. Foster, E. D. Hudson, Edward M Davis, Robert Purvis, C. L. Reason.

The announcement of Mr. Garrison's name as President was received with tumultuous applause, and Mr. Foster stated that the nomination was unanimous of the part of the Committee.

The report of the Committee was accepted.

Mr. Garnison-I really do not understand this. ecent it in the spirit of kindness in which it has me ifestly been tendered, but I do not understand why it have been done, when I have given the reasons, which are all-conclusive in my own mind, why cannot any longer act with the Society. I do not deem it a matter that requires any consideration. I must, of course, decline to serve as President of the Society, after having taken the ground that I do, that it would be better for the Society to dissolve. But I am very nuch obliged to you for this expression of your confidence and regard.

The declination of Mr. Garrison was accepted, and, on motion of Stephen S. Foster, Wendell Phillips was elected President, and took the Chair amid great applause.

Mr. PHILLIPS-I can only say, ladies and gentle men, that grateful as I am for this mark of your kind regard, I have never passed from one moment to

same chamber, and four fifths of them will say, as another with greater grief than in listening to the announcement of the immovable purpose of Mr. Garrison to decline the honor which was so lovingly and unanimously accorded to him by the vote of this Society. I would have added my own urgent wish to unanimous wish of the Committee, of which I But in accepting the office which you confer upon me I do it deeply regretting that he should have thought it necessary, after so unanimous an expression of opin-ion as we have just seen, to decline to allow us still God's providence that gives us to turn aside, for a moment, from the duty of a Chair-

Resolved, That we have heard with the r to the cause have rendered to the slave and the country; that we have no words adequate to express our sense of the debt we owe, as individuals, to his counsel and labors; and that all coming time will recognize him as the real Liberator of the American Slave, and will do justice to the wide and beneficial influence he has had on his age here and throughout the world; and history will keep a prouder record for Democratic Institutions, in that they have shown themselves canable of producing so independent magnantmonia. pable of producing so independent, magnanimous heroic and thoroughly Christian patriot and man.

Mr. FOSTER moved the adoption of the resolution and that the question be taken by a rising vote. The question was put, and the resolution carried unaniously, the entire assembly rising.

Mr. GARRISON-I desire to express the grateful feelings of my heart in view of this fresh testimony from this Society. I can only say, that though I shall not be with you as a member of the Society any long er, I shall be with you in the spirit which seeks to remove every fetter, and to give full and complete justice to all who are oppressed in our country. You have chosen, by a decided majority, to continue the Society. I beg of you not to make it a mere formality, as it ha been of late. I hope, if you are in earnest, that you will endeavor to see that it is made useful-and you will unquestionably, if you are in earnest; and I trust that you may be able to do a great deal of good, be vond anything that I can now see or anticipate. I shall work with you, I shall work with the nation, with the people, with the millions, with the government (applause) in the effort to secure full justice to every man who has a colored complexion in our country, whether he is now in bonds, or whether he is free. God's blessing rest upon you! (Loud applause.)

SAMUEL MAY, Jr .- I wish now to offer a resolution connection with the one just passed in relation to our retiring President:

Resolved, That this Society regards it as a duty, as is its pleasure, to acknowledge the eminent ability and moral fidelity with which its organ, the Nationa Inti-Slavery Standard, has been conducted from the rat, and at every period of its existence for the term of twenty-five full years; especially does the Society at this time contemplate with satisfaction and approva the wise forecast, the just discrimination, the faithfu criticism, the generous appreciation of every advance in favor of freedom made by the American govern ment and people, which have characterized the pape during the eventual and perilous four years of the ment and people, which have characterized the p during the eventful and perilous four years of war; and, in taking leave of its retiring Editors Society tenders to them the assurance of its sinceres respect and hearty gratitude.

Mr. Foster moved the reference of the resolution to the Executive Committee. Mr. May-I object to that reference. I do not so

why we should refer this resolution to the Executive Committee any more than the one in regard to Mr. Garrison. It is essentially a question for the Society, as a Society, to pronounce upon. The members o the Society, who may be supposed to be, all of them. readers of the Standard, and its supporters to the extent of their ability, (they ought to be, certainly,) know what its character has been for twenty-five years past, and during the period of the war. The strong support afforded to the Standard by its subscribers and all the knowledge I have of their sentiments, and of the sentiments of the members of this Society, lead me to believe that the most cordial endorsement and approbation will be given to the Standard and to its management in regard to the interests of the anti-sla very cause, during the very trying time of the past four years. Of course, there are none at this late day ard under the administration of Nathaniel P. Rogers, of Mr. and Mrs. Child, of Mr. Gay, and others, who have been in its editorial chair. I do, for one, solemnly believe that it is the duty of this Society, and that it is their pleasure, to acknowledge the fidelity of the services of the retiring editors of the Standard, as much as it was to acknowledge the fidelity of the services of our late President. They have faithfully represented the views of Abolitionists, according to their best light, and according to their own understanding of the purposes and instructions of this Society. I believe they have not swerved a hair's breadth from the instructions given them by this Society: that they have endeavored to understand them, and have endeavored to carry them out to the best of their ability. Are there any here who say "No" to that? If so here is the opportunity. I wish to record my vote as thanking these gentlemen and their colleagues for the faithful and generous and able services they have ren dered to this Society, and the cause it represents. I hope, therefore, the resolutions will not be referred to the Executive Committee. It is emphatically a question for the Society to decide.

Mr. FOSTER-It will be apparent to the audience that there is no analogy between this case and that of the President of the Society. The President was elected by the Society, responsible to it, and to no one else. The editors of the Standard were appointed by the Executive Committee, and within the last six months, I think, they have appealed to the Executive Committee as the body to whom they are responsible They have not resigned their offices to this Society; we do not know but they have decided to go on, in view of the unanimity with which the Society has voted to continue. I prefer to leave the matter entirely in the hands of the Executive Committee, who, when they resign, will pay them such a tribute of respect and gratitude, in behalf of the Abolitionists of the country, as in their judgment they are entitled to. If this resolution were a mere vote of thanks to these gentlemen, I could most heartily give it my support, but, with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Pillsbury, I lissent from the course of the Standard. I was in favor of the Cleveland Convention, which declared a year ago that there was not a slave on the American soil; and I gave it my hearty support. The Standard opposed it, and fought the only man who stood before the country as a Radical Abolitionist, and took President Lincoln, who lived and died the President of a slaveholding nation. Now, while I differ from the editors of the Standard entirely in regard to the propriety of their course, I have the utmost confidence in the fidelity of those gentlemen to their convictions. The case is one for argument, not for consure.

MARIUS ROBINSON-I wish, with Mr. May, to give expression to a feeling in regard to the editors of the Standard, that shall be in harmony with that expressed for the retiring President. I hope that, in some shape, we shall have such a resolution, and one that will come spontaneously from this meeting, as the preceding one did.

The question was then taken on the motion to refer the resolution to the Executive Committee, and it was carried by a vote of 24 to 23.

Mr. PILLSBURY offered the following series of res

1. Resolved, That the thanks of the Society, and of the whole country, are eminently due to Hon. Charles Summer for his untiring energy and perseverance in preventing the readmission of Louisiana into the frage and citizenship all her colored population, whose loyalty is above all suspicion, and whose peerless valor upon it. I think the fact that the impediment has frage and citize

saved that State, and indeed the whole Minings

ellion.

2. Resolved, That of all the work committed to on 2. Lessoven, a list of an the work committed to or hands, we will count none more important than there ucation of the nation before the next sersion of Conness for citizenship; and that no democracy is great, into the idea that color or race is no test of a line, or can stand the ordeal of the nincteenship; and that no democracy is great tury, which is not based on justice and the cheefful connect of all the governed.

consent of all the governed.

3. Resolved, That the objects of this Society, was nounced in its Constitution and Deciration of Sea. States "; and the elevation of slavery is the United States and the elevation of all persons of the states are "The entire abolition of slavery is the United States"; and the elevation of "all persons of the possess the qualifications which are demanded of when the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same preroughties as others"; and while we jufuly welcome and will heartily cooperate with every securities in this vast field of action and effort, sales whatever name, we can never lay down our was demuxiliary in this vast need of action and effort, today whatever name, we can never lay down our swa distinctive apostleship until all those high purpose an fully accomplished.

4. Resolved, That the terrible mistake of our leaves to the contract of the

4. Resolved, That the terrible mistake of on Recolutionary fathers, in permitting slavery in contrasting the government, would be more than paralleled in a Reconstruction which should proactibe from each citizenship a large proportion of the population in revolted States, on account of their complexion and recolution, while their loyalty is above all question, and determined the proportion of the proposition of the proposition in the proposition in the proposition of the proposition in the propositi hundred battle fields hundred battle-fields—and if the ravages of the pre-ent war are only a just penalty for the slavery of al-most a hundred years ago, there could be no hope of any permanent peace or lasting nationality after so a visitation, which should be founded on persistent ustice and cruelty.

The question was taken on the first resolution, and was adopted unanimously.

Dr. SNODGRASS moved to amend the second resoluon by adding as follows: "And that Coogress be arged to recommend the adoption of a Constitutional Amendment forbidding any State to make any distinctions among persons born on her soil, of parents permanently resident there, in relation to civil right, account of race, color, or descent

Dr. SNODGRASS-It has been said here to-day that udge Bond, whom I respect very highly, demself frankly against the idea of giving the suffrage to the colored people of Maryland. The Lieutenant Governor of Maryland has not made up his mind on the subject. He thinks the time has not yet come Now, what pertains to my adopted State, Maryland, pertains also to many other States in the South; and want to say to you, that if I wanted to describe the pirit of slaveholding caste, from which I came-ful ad the misfortune to be born a slaveholder-I should ust paraphrase the song of that glorious man, John own, who did a glorious work in my native State, Virginia, in this wise :

"The body of slavery lies mouldering in the ground, Its soul goes marching on." You have got a harder fight before you than you ave ever had, and, for the first time, I am tempted to ask if you will not allow me to subscribe to your Con stitution, and vote. I have been tempted to join you now more than ever, because I think you are going into a harder fight than you have ever had before, speak as a Southern-raised man, who had the mister tune for a time to be a slaveholder, by inheritance, and all of whose kindred in Virginia and Kentucky are slaveholders-who is in communication with themwho knows the spirit of slavery, and who knows, therere, from his observation and experience, and from onversation with his friends, that the fight is far from being over, but is becoming intensified, more than some of you, perhaps, have ever dreamed. That is the tate of the case, and therefore I wish you to strike a direct blow by a resolution of that kind, and to my to Congress, as you have been accustomed to say, in the anguage of demand. "We demand that there shall such a clause introduced into the Constitution as will make it hereafter impossible that there shall be any State regulation or arrangement denying the right of the ballot to any of God's children.

At this point the discussion on the resolutions vi aspended, to take up the question of "material aid." nd a Committee on Finance was appointed, as to

lows: Wm. A. Hovey, Caroline A. Putnam, Maria S. Page and Abby Kelley Foster. Mrs. FOSTER-I hope there will be a generous conibution, not merely of money, to pay the expenses of the present meeting, but of means to carry on the perations of the Society. I suppose all of us who ave not thought it expedient to dissolve the Society at this time are influenced by the consideration, the "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," we should be always on the watch-tower, and that now any seglect may jeopard the interests of the slave, and o course of the country and the world, for generations ments of the Executive Committee that has recently been elected. I am confident that they will leave a single stone unturned, that they will leave no measure untried, to educate the public mind up to the point that shall not only secure the proper legal guarantee of the black man's rights, but shall support those guarantees by a public sentiment that shall make then effective. In order to do this, we are all of us well aware that the public sentiment must receive a deep and radical regeneration; and in order that they may e effected, mass meetings and conventions must be held, publications must be circulated, and all the various agencies for influencing the public mind put into requisition; and in order that that may be done, we must have large contributions. I feel, as an Abolitionist, that I have no time, no means, and no right to do anything except to drive forward the main question. The whole community is ready to engage in the work of aiding the freedmen. There are hun dreds of dollars in charity to the freedmen, who yet would put forth every effort to prevent his having the elective franchise. It is therefore for those of us who feel that by giving the franchise to the black man, we destroy the necessity for any charity beyond the immediate present, to use our entire energies in that di-

I hope, therefore, that every Abolitionist will consecrate himself, or herself, anew to this special work, remembering that outsiders, those who will not comup to our platform, who will not come up because they do not see, in many instances, that the right way is the safe way-do not see that to give rights is t avoid the necessity for charity-will do the work for the freedmen. I trust, therefore, that our piedget instead of being what they have been heretofore, will be doubled, trebled and quadrupled, and that, instead of our lacking the means to carry on a vigorous warfare, we shall have a superabundance of means, so that \*1 shall be able to prosecute any measure that may be proposed, with vigor. I hope that, through these th forts, we shall see the public sentiment, in six months, raised to such a point that the freedman's rights will be secured.

Mr. IRISH, of Pittsburg-I desire to say that I had the pleasure of attending a meeting this merning, # which Judge Bond presided, composed of delegated from Boston, New York, Baltimore and Pittiburg where resolutions were unanimously adopted, approve ing the immediate extension of the rights of cities ship, including the right to the bollot, to the colored people of the South-as due to them for their part services to the country, and as the only safe and san method of reconstruction. (Applause.)

Mr. Max-I heard the same thing last night, and testified to the same effect here on the platform; but it seemed to fall on a good many unbelieving ears.

The PRESIDENT-I am exceedingly glad to best the statement, and I will venture to make upon this text this single remark—that it is only another in stance of the value of this organization and similar efforts. I had the pleasure of sitting, not more than five months ago, in the company of Judge Bond and some eleven or twelve of the active and patriotic young emancipationists of Baltimore, when it was the unanimous opinion of the whole body, that it was an impracticable thing for any man in Maryland in start, at that moment, the idea of suffrage; that while ever might be their private opinions upon the (18) tion, they were not at liberty to express any opinion

JUNE been lifted from their publicly to espouse un because men more favo have kept up the agi Mr. May-I think .

the American Anti-Sh but can any man come that anything that this last six months has i gentlemen ? I cannot. nal labors of such me men as Wendell Phill has acted quite as much this for anti-slavery pu itor of the Independent and social necessity of is to these men we ow made, in part; and a events, which, in the has been warning this Power anywhere. The mented head of this I how far they can trust cannot trust it one hair moment; and it is not, ety to gather up to its that has been made. The consideration of

ere resumed. Mr. PILLSBURY-I h this meeting with any no late for me to do hat something should said, and that I fear I these unfavorable cirus xeellent friend Mr. C been dead for the last me a most humiliatin hought that-although funeral-if the Society was about time it was b ast; I trust, however

day a voice has been ut

ing, "Lazarus, come fo Four years ago, it w that slavery was dead ; no longer needed; tha f my excellent friend, and the American arm very Sociéty. That A ts conflict with such we know, and the wa along" through four and slavery was yet ab st armies that were fight; for though we be nonths, before those thr mmonell half a millio before four years had the sleep that knows were awakened early brate what we deemed rn hosts, and the van mond had surrendered army were prisoners; deed, our work was d quivering on the groun owels seemed gushing joy unknown before, That week was one of We fancied the monster well done, and the worl way. The President his on the subject, and that on the Fast day in to occupy the pulpit of you this morning, (Rev whom I want to say, argest churches in Ma his own pulpit as to have Copperhead element pr congregation, and he d plause.) Occupying by ame the prerogative of text from the Hebr were these, (for I inten goodness and compas "What could I have d

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In the afternoon, I we

city, and I read every

and Boston on the Pres

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dorsed its doctrine. I that evening, and I wer I selt that I must tell ! rain; that their rejoicis into mourning; for in victory, as we thought, tice, and were ready to the basis of white suffr rejecting the bravery a salvation of the co as I said, with a heavy were lost. I said, "Yo black, and 'bilious,' a beginning of the war, God has visited us in je when he seems to have could do to his vineya judgment-none calling government pleading th a sad meeting, and well sed until a late hour at I never addressed; and of all that week of joy than was mine. But meeting, God did appea idence, and showed the mere that he could do not done in it. The so me to-day answers could I have done for done in it ?" And the I thought of the two li-

Bonaparte, when he at " Who would a To set in suc Yes, Mr. Chairman, it enemy was not alain; fell, and triumphed in, tremity, behold the qu vitality enough to swin and sting our noble Ch our very eyeballa! I ! to do; and I have felt work yet to be done; a aposticship was to be a reems to me that such a Ford's theatre than the Mr. Chairman, our work is not done; not the blackest man has a yestfenjoy. I camnot but as myself "until honor my noble friend here to-day, and assert to lator, whether its lator, whethe

to labor, whether in achievement of that n I tell you, my friends

a of this Society, as ana of this Society, as ani Declaration of Sentiof slavery in the United
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one high purposes are le mistake of our Rev., ele mistake of the properties from equal of the population in the faction, and their complexion, and their complexion, and their cen well attend on a her ravages of the present of the purpose of the present of the purpose of the p he first resolution, and

nend the second resolu-And that Congress be tion of a Constitutional itate to make any dison her soil, of parents relation to civil rights,

n said here to-day that very highly, declared a of giving the suffrage land. The Lieutenant t made up his mind on me has not yet come. tates in the South; and I wanted to describe the om which I came-for I n slaveholder-I should that glorious man, John ork in my native State.

dering in the ground, it before you than you

st time, I am tempted to subscribe to your Con-I think you are going ave ever had before. an, who had the misfor lder, by inheritance, and inia and Kentucky are nunication with them-, and who knows, thered experience, and from that the fight is far from ensified, more than some dreamed. That is th I wish you to strike a that kind, and to say to customed to say, in the emand that there shall nto the Constitution as sible that there shall be ment denying the right

on the resolutions was

hildren."

was appointed, as fol-ne A. Putnam, Maria S. will be a generous coney, to pay the expenses means to carry on th suppose all of us who to dissolve the Society the consideration, that ce of liberty," we should , and that now any neg-ts of the slave, and of world, for generations g of the views and senti nittee that has recently that they will leave no y will leave no measure c mind up to the point proper legal guarantees shall support those guar , we are all of us well ent must receive a deep in order that they may d conventions must be ulated, and all the vari-e public mind put into that may be done, we s. I feel, as an Abolio means, and no right to forward the main quesis ready to engage in men. There are hun-the freedmen, who yet prevent his having the fore for those of us who se to the black man, we

y Abolitionist will conw to this special work, hose who will not come Il not come up because nces, that the right way -will do the work for ve been heretofore, pled, and that, instead of y on a vigorous warfare, ce of means, so that we y measure that may be that, through these efentiment, in six months e freedman's rights will

eting this morning, at composed of delegates ltimore and Pittsburg, mously adopted, approv of the rights of cities to them for their past s the only safe and sur Applause.)

me thing last night, and e on the platform; but ny unbelieving ears. recedingly glad to hear ture to make upon that t it is only another ineganization and similar sitting, not more than any of Judge Bond and active and patriotic altimore, when it was whole body, that it was y man in Maryland to of suffrage; that what opinions upon the questo express any opin t the impediment has

a lifted from their lips, so that they are willing en lined from the control of the con lare kept up the agitation, outside of Maryland, shich has at last opened their lips.

Mr. Max -I think as much of the past history of Ma Mai - Anti-Slavery Society as any one can; can any man come upon this platform, and say at anything that this Society has done within the x months has influenced the minds of those omen! I cannot. No, sir; it is due to the perlabors of such men as Charles Sumner; of such Wendell Phillips, who, for a few years past, secred quite as much with other societies as with in for anti-slavery purposes; of such men as the edis for anomale and to the efforts of newspa-er of the Independent; and to the efforts of newspa-nt all over the country, who see the moral, political, and social necessity of doing justice to the negro. It to these men we owe the advance that has been de in part; and still more to that march of gold, which, in the mighty providence of God, been warning this people not to trust the Slave over anywhere. The blow which struck down the neated head of this Republic taught the North, not lor far they can trust the Slave Power, but that they got trust it one hair's-breadth, nor dally with it a ment; and it is not, in my judgment, for this Socito gather up to itself the credit of the advance

The consideration of Mr. Pillsbury's resolution was

Mr. PILLSBURY-I have not obtruded myself upon his secting with any remarks, and it is altogether and late for me to do so now. But it seems to me at something should be said that has not yet been nid, and that I fear I shall not be able to say under hese unfavorable cirumstances. I agreed with my resilent friend Mr. Garrison, that this Society had ben dead for the last four years; but it seemed to ne a most humiliating confession to make, and I hought that-although he said this was no time for a en -if the Society had been dead four years, it about time it was buried. It has been inactive, at ut: I trust, however, it has only slept, and that to-"Lazarus, come forth!"

lay a voice has been uttered that will be effective, say-Four years ago, it was announced on our platform hat slavery was dead; that anti-slavery efforts were longer needed; that Gen. Scott was in the place my excellent friend, Mr. May, as General Agent, and the American army was the American Anti-Slanery Society. That Anti-Slavery Society prosecuted conflict with such success and such disasters as whow and the war "dragged its slow length ling" through four dreary and desolating years, darery was yet able to compete with the mightiarmies that were ever gathered in the field of ght; for though we began with 75,000 men for three aths, before those three months had expired, we had amoned half a million of men for three years; and fore four years had expired, our armies had been eased to millions, and nearly half of them slept be sleep that knows no waking. Last month, we vere asakened early on Monday morning to celerate what we deemed to be the triumph of the Northn hosts, and the vanquishing of every foe. Richmond had surrendered, Gen. Lee was a captive, his emy were prisoners; and we fancied that then, inand our work was done. There lay the monster pivering on the ground; his head cut off, and all his ewels seemed gushing out; and the nation went into joy unknown before, perhaps, among mortal men. hat week was one of jubilation, of unmingled joy. We fancied the monster was dead, our work done and will done, and the work of reconstruction well under The President had made that last speech of in on the subject, and the press of the country had grea in its adhesion to his doctrine. I remember hat on the Fast day in Massachusetts, I was invited secupy the pulpit of the gentleman who addressed this morning, (Rev. Mr. Spaulding, of Salem,) of shom I want to say, although paster of one of the argest churches in Mass., he has been so faithful in sown pulpit as to have driven what is known as the apperhead element pretty much entirely out of his ingregation, and he dared, also, to invite me to deset the Fast Day discourse in that church. (Appasse.) Occupying his pulpit, I thought I would asname the prerogative of the minister. So I selected a text from the Hebrew prophets; and the words godness and compassion of God to this nation,) not done to it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild mpes?" And in the course of my remarks, I reerred to that speech of the President, and said that

seemed to me highly proper that we should observe

e day as a day of fasting and prayer, for we had to

hel with a monster, which, although we fancied he

ra dead, and were celebrating our triumph, was one

flat, after all, went not out but by prayer and fasting.

the afternoon, I went into the Athenaum in that

, and I read every daily newspaper of New York

those papers, without a solitary exception, en-

ned its doctrine. I had a lecture appointed for

at evening, and I went to it with a heavy heart, for

lich that I must tell the audience that their joy was

nin; that their rejoicing must be turned, I was sure,

no mourning; for in that hour of triumph and of ctory, as we thought, we were forgetting to do jus-, and were ready to construct the government on e basis of white suffrage—and that, also, disloyal ecting the bravery and loyalty that God had made salvation of the country. I went to my lecture, is I said, with a heavy heart. I told the audience we ere lost. I said, "You have called me 'blue,' 'bluecharity beyond the im Nack, and 'bilious,' and I know not what, from the ntire energies in that diginning of the war, but we are inevitably lost; for d has visited us in judgment, and in the last hour, hen he seems to have left nothing undone that he hald do to his vineyard, we still forget justice and adment-none calling for justice, and none in the ternment pleading the cause of the poor." It was ad meeting, and well it might be. It was contined until a late hour at night, and a sadder audience atter addressed; and a sadder heart, in the midst all that week of joy, I trust could not be found, in was mine. But twenty-four hours after that eeting, God did appear in his most mysterious provdence, and showed that there was at least one thing here that he could do for his vineyard that he had done in it. The solemn drapery that darkens this base to-day answers the question, "What more maid! have done for my vineyard that I have not in it!" And thus we ended that week of joy. hought of the two lines of Byron, in his eulogy on

parte, when he spoke of his greatness and his

To set in such a starless night? is, Mr. Chairman, it was indeed a said week. Our teny was not slain; for while we exalted over his and triumphed in, as we thought, his dire exbuilty, behold the quivering monster gathered up taking cough to swing around his enveromed tail, and sting our noble Chief Magistrate to death before tery eyeballs! I felt then there was work for me do; and I have felt during this meeting there was rik jet to be done; and I thought if our good old modeship was to be sacrificed here, it was well that behad the drapery of death hanging around; but it ins to me that such a deed would far better become Ind a fleatre than the Church of the Puritans. No, iz Chairman, our work is not done; at least, my

shall all know it, for it will be as if Death and Hell gave up the ghost. When we comprehend the malignity of the monster, and the power and tenscity of existence which he has acquired, we shall realize that our work is no pastime, no child's-play; and that however Freedmen's Associations and Christian Associations may operate in their fields, they will every one of them need the old polar star to guide them in their dangerous navigation. (Applause.)

The question was then taken on motion of Dr. Snodgrass to amend Mr. Pillsbury resolution, and the amendment carried: in which form the resolution passed. The third resolution of the series was also

Rev. Mr. TREVELLIN, Agent of the Western Pennsylvania Freedmen's Association-I was at your meeting yesterday, and I thank God that I have had the opportunity of attending these meetings. I only want to say, in regard to the matter under discussion, that your work is not done. When I heard, at my home, that you were going to disband the Society, I was amazed. I heard it said that for some reason or other you were going to disband, in order to organize something better. I did not understand it. I have only to say, that you have great reason to be thankful that the people have come up to your standpoint. If they will only give the negro the ballot, I do not care what becomes of the Freedmen's Associations. Give the blacks the ballot, and let the nation take its heel off their necks, and they will take care of themselves. That, I think, is the true doctrine.

The fourth and last resolution in Mr. Pillsbury's series was then adopted. Mr. J. K. H. Wilcox, of Staten Island, spoke very briefly in deprecation of the idea, that this was a new organization. He maintained that it was a continu-

ance of the old organization, framed thirty odd years ago-the old American Anti-Slavery Society. Wm. A. Hover, from the Finance Committee, reported that they had received \$111.13 in cash, and in

pledges, \$534,(0. The report was accepted. MARY GREW presented the following communication tion from the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, which was read by the President:

At a stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, held April 13th, 1865, the fol-lowing resolutions were unanimously adopted; and the President and Corresponding Secretary were di-rected to present them to the American Anti-Slavery

the Fresident and Corresponding Secretary were directed to present them to the American Anti-Slavery Society at its next annual meeting.

Resolved. That in the great and marvellous events which are thrilling the hearts of this nation, we see the hand of God leading the American slaves, step by step, from their long and cruei bondage up to freedom and victory over their oppressors; that we see also the beginning of a new and glorious era, in which the principles of Liberty, Justice, and Democracy, so long and loudly professed, shall be nobly illustrated in our national life; and that we devoutly thank Him in whose name and whose strength we have labored, that the Anti-Slavery enterprise has culminated in glorious success; and that the hour when we may, in triumphant joy and profound gratitude, disband this Association is evidently very near at hand.

Resolved, That while we wait only the announcement that American slavery is abolished by the Constitutional law of the land, we reassert our conviction that justice to the emancipated slave, and the safety of the nation, require that the States which have rebelled against the government, in the interests of slavery, shall be permitted to return only upon the condition that, under their State Constitutions, citizenship shall be conferred on black and white men equally.

be conferred on black and white men equally.

GULIELMA M. JONES, Sec.

On motion, it was voted that the communication b

entered upon the records of the meeting.
On motion of Mr. Pillsbury, the Society then adourned, sine die-having been in continuous session nearly eight hours.

# The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1865. THE NEW YORK ANNIVERSARY.

In the Liberator of this week we complete the publication of the very faithful report of the proceeding

of the recent anniversary of the American Anti-Sla very Society at New York, as made by that skilful phonographic reporter, J. M. W. YERRINTON, Esq. Having occupied so large a portion of the last three numbers with those proceedings, we have been obliged to omit much other matter of an interesting character; to omit much other matter of an interesting character; but we felt sure our readers cherished a paramount desire to know all that was said and done at New York what could I have done more for my vineyard that the disfranchisement by any so-called State but we felt sure our readers cherished a paramount desire to know all that was said and done at New York concerning the proposition to dissolve the Parent So-concerning the Parent So-conc ciety, even to the exclusion of every thing else.

It will be seen that those who were so strenuous for It will be seen that those who were so strenuous for continuing the Society not only occupied a very large portion of the time, but magnified the importance of the Society at the present time in the most extrava
ann manner. Mr. Phillips tasked his rhotorical now their enfranchisement and full equality before the law portion of the time, but magnified the importance of gant manner. Mr. Phillips tasked his rhetorical powers to make it appear that the dissolution of the Society would be a most perilous act to the cause of impartial freedom, if not utter recreancy to it! Yet he knows that, as a member of its Executive Committee, it is a long time since he has taken a special interest Boston on the President's speech; and every one in its welfare or efficiency; that its means have been growing more and more curtailed, without exciting any uneasiness or remark on his part; that it has not presented to the public since the war broke out any report of its doings; and that he has neither proposed nor even suggested any thing to be done by it. Indeed, what need is there of its further existence so long as Mr. Phillips is in the field, able to command, to "bayonet," and to conquer? This is his humble claim for himself :-

> "As the organ of the Executive Committee, I orig-inally instructed the Standard to announce such truth and illustrate such principle as would lift the commu-nity; I never instructed it to stand on the level of the Republican party... I went about, and tried to bayonet the President into the Proclamation of Emancipation. When I had gotten it, I instantly changed my base, and demanded of the people an Amendment of the Constitution. When the Amendment was granted, I instantly changed my base again. Having clutched from the nation the parchment, I wanted a guarantee behind it—suffrage and the crippling of

Enough! Mr. Phillips is quite equal, single-handed, to any emergency. It is only for him to "change his that, great as have been the changes which have bequiously! Surely, the American Anti-Slavery Soci-

ety is not a vital necessity! "Save me from my friends, and I will take care of

Mr. Douglass shows a very sudden and most re- this is known, our duty will be to take that step. markable change in his estimate of the character and importance of the Society. So, at least, his special

friends in England will think! Rev. Mr. Spaulding and Rev. Mr. Trevellin have Society.

fully and justly recognizing the eminent service ren- ple to say this plainly to the next Congress. dered to the Anti-Slavery cause for so many years by the retiring editors of the Standard, (Messrs. Quincy and Johnson,) was "sent to Coventry" by the dubious majority of one, shows the animus of this newborn zeal for the continuance of the Society. The question, we are sure, was not intelligently understood by the meeting. Had it been, we believe the res olution would have been adopted with great unanimity.

Any impenchment of the fairness and thoroughness of the course of the Standard will be scouted by all but partisan or soured minds. It has nobly represented

EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

The Annual Meeting of the Emancipation League was held on Monday afternoon, (29th ult.) at the Tre-mont Temple. In the absence of the President, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, the chair was taken by Major Geo. L. Stearns.

After the appointment of Committees on the Nomnation of Officers and on Resolutions, the meeting was addressed by Hon. William D. Kelley of Phila-

After referring to the fact that his State, Pennsylvania, was the first to abolish slavery by legislative nactment three years before the Revolutionary war was ended, (though he must admit that the draft of that instrument was made by a Massachusetts man, Benjamin Franklin,) Judge Kelley proceeded to speak, at great length, of the present situation of our coun-

try.

The most important element of that situation, he said, is not peace, nor the return of the soldiers. True, Kirby Smith has surrendered the last army. Nevertheless, now the war begins. We have now to contend with a more subtle and powerful enemy, which larks in our own households, the prejudice against the negro in which we have been trained from infancy. God, however, has so interwoven our destiny with that of our fellow-citizens of African descent. that only by full justice to them can we obtain salva

Coming to the subject of reconstruction in rebel States, Judge Kelley spoke of the large proportion of black population in the South, and of the pr of that population in South Carolina and Mississippi, the chief cotton States. Of the last two, you cannot possibly make white States without violating every inciple of true Democracy, and every doctrine of the Declaration of Independence. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania will not join in enforcing the rule of the ninority over the majority. All men must be made free and equal before the law. Is it asked how this happy consummation can be accomplished in the old lave States ? Why, there is no State of Mississippi, of Texas, or of Alabama. There is no Governor in either to order an election. There are no districts onstitutionally formed there. The State govern nents have been overthrown by treason. The people of those regions cannot resume their relations to the General Government until they shall have been recognized by both houses of Congress. It is your Repre sentatives of the loval States who are to act upon these questions. And the people of these States should require of them the enactment of just and righteous rules in regard to the status of the colored opulation. In short, our duty is to give up political lying. Having said so long that all men are free and

equal, let us regulate our politics by that truth. The report of the Committee on Nominations was then presented and accepted, and the following officers

President, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall: Vice Presidents President, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall; Vice Presidents, Samuel G. Howe, Thomas Russell, Edward Atkinson, George L. Stearns; Treasurer, Francis W. Bird; Secretary, Charles W. Slack; Executive Committee, John H. Stephenson, James M. W. Yerrinton, Robert K. Potter, John S. Rogers, William S. Robinson, Elizur Wright, Samson R. Urbino, William L. Burt, David Thayer, Andrew M. McPhail, Jr.

The Committee on Resolutions then made their report, as follows :-

Resolved. That we most fervently thank God and According to the country, that what has been called the country status of slavery no longer exists within the rebel States, and that rebels have no political rights

which loyal men are bound to respect.

Resolved, That this auspicious fact in our nation's history binds us by every sentiment of gratitude, honor and duty, to persevere in demanding for the liberated victims of slavery all the attributes of American citi-

enship.

Whereas, The same united people who unanimous y approved the Declaration of American Independence, in 1776, and vindicated it by the peril of their lives without distinction of race or color, eleven years afterwards adopted a national constitution without recanting one word of the former instrument, much less any political truth which it declared self-evident;

nerefore, Resolved, 1. That States in exercising their consti-Resolved, 1. That States in exercising their constitutional right to determine within their limits the qualifications requisite for the electors of State and United States officers are virtually prohibited from distranchising any citizens of the United States on account of race or color, and hence loyal colored men have the same constitutional right to the elective franchise as loyal white men.

2. That the disfranchisement by any so-called State

their entranchisement and full equality before the law must be the corner-stone of its reconstruction.

Resolved, That it becomes every day more and more apparent that substantially the entire white population of the rebellious States is hostile to the principles, of republicanism, and incapable of organizing free institutions, homogeneous with those of the loyal States, and that the restoration of any State in which the suffrace is restricted to a white constituency is the suffrage is restricted to a white constituency is practically to admit the rectitude of the rebellion; to

practically to admit the rectitude of the rebellion; to deliver the only loyal supporters of the national cause to disabilities, proscription and outrage which will combine all the villanies of chattel slavery; to imperit the national credit, and to leave undestroyed the roots of the slavesoligarchy, to be nursed into new life, to bear again its bloody fruits of treason and war. Resolved, That four years of bloody war have taught this nation that slavery is incompatible with a republican form of government, and, therefore, the United States, acting through Congress, has the full power to abolish slavery in every State, and forever to prevent the existence of slavery in all the States which shall hereafter compose the Union.

Resolved, That the omission of colored troops from the national military ovation at Washington was

Resolved, That the omission of colored troops from the national military oxation at Washington was no less insulting to the brave white soldiers of the army and to a grateful country than to the heroes of Port Hudson, Wagner, Olustee, Petersburg, and numerous other fields of patriotic sacrifice; and that such deference to the sentiment in which the rebellion was founded must be banished from the councils of the administration before we can expect that enduring peace which rests on the hendictions of Almighty guarantee behind it—suffrage and the crippling of State Rights "—&c., &c.

Wendell Phillips was the next speaker. He said " ad libitum, and the government follows obse- fallen the country, public opinion had not until now ripened for any important change in the national Constitution. We should remember that such principle Of Mr. Foster and Mr. Pillsbury we will only re- of reconstruction as shall now be adopted to combine mark, that their friendship for and interest in the So- all the States under the General Government will ciety have been manifested in such a peculiar manner probably last a long time, and that in this act we are as to recall to mind the pregnant Spanish maxim- to reap all that this great war has earned for the people. The great question of the hour is-How large a

step forward will give us absolute security. When He feared that the nation could not kill both Jeff. Davis and slavery. He feared that act of vengeance upon an individual which would satisfy the people before destroying the worse enemy, Slavery, and its never before participated in the proceedings of the foundation, Caste. We have no security for our fu-Society.

ture but by reconstruction on the plan of giving justice,
The manner in which Mr. May's resolution, gratethat is, the ballot, to the negro. He wanted the peo-

> (1) This is another instance of haste and recklessness in making false accusations on the part of certain individuals—as witness the following statement by the Boston Evening Voice :- ED. LIB.

THE COLORED TROOPS, AND THE REVIEW. A story was printed in some of the papers that the brave colored troops were debarred from participation in the late military review, much, of course, to their disappointment, and to the indignation of those who have watched their brilliant career of soldierly exof the course of the standard, my have the standard of the course of the standard of the stand

When Congress shall reassemble, let it understand hat the people require of it that reconstruction shall proceed on a black basis as well as a white one. Let the leaders of the Republican party make this their great demand; and let them, if needful, divide the party and oppose the Aministration on this issue. The country is in imminent peril. No measure is too strong for such an emergency. Before the war closes, before we, the loyal States, lose the helm by the termination of the war, we must secure the great point of the new arrangement, the ballot for the negro, which secures his education. And as to preparation for the ballot, to-day the loyal blacks of South Carolina are far ahead in education of the disloyal whites. The blacks have been educated by work; the whites neither by work nor books. Give the negro land and the ballot to-day, and to-morrow I will insure you a school house and the day after, a truly Democratic

government in South Carolina.

The chairman then introduced Ex Governor Boutwell to the meeting. He said we must by no means fail to secure for our black friends in the Southern States the elective franchise. They must vote at all events, though it may be a question whether the white population are to vote. Not one of the rebel States should return, with his consent, until its Constitution has secured in the strongest manner possible a vote for the negro. (Immense applause followed this statement, and at the suggestion of Mr. Slack, three rousing cheers were given for the sentimen contained in it.) He believed that now, at last, the people of those States would have justice established their Constitutions. His individual wish was that South Carolina and Florida should be organized as Territories, to be exclusively controlled by colored people, that they might try their hand at governing

few months to come, and in the meantime we should demand of President Johnson that he refrain from declaring in advance against negro suffrage.

General Wilson was the last speaker. He em phatically declared that he would vote for the re-adnission of no State which does not abolish slavery and give the ballot to the loyal blacks, a statemen

We need active and vigorous work (he said) for a

which drew hearty cheers from the audience. A vote was then taken upon the resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, and the meeting adjourn

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

SERMON IN PETERBORO, May 21, 1865. The Nation still unsaved. Only repentance can save it."

Gerrit Smith, who has felt bound to preach a good eal, in view of the fact that the majority of the cler gy preach so badly, has published a new discourse, the bject of which is to dissuade the North from punishing, not merely the South, but those who have led th South in slavery and rebellion. He thinks that the adocates of secession and slavery have "already been too severely punished "-that true penitence in the North for her own sins would cause her to recoil from the work of punishing Southern men, either leaders or followers-that the two parties equally need to be forgiven by each other, as well as to seek the forgiveness of God-that if we, in the North, should repent of our sins and do works meet for repentance the South would be quickly and irresistibly moved to repent also, and would "welcome" the vast tide of Northern immigration, so that we should promptly become a homogeneous nation-that security for a bright Anti-Slavery future is all that can properly be aimed by the North-and that this would require probably nothing more, in addition to her dúty to all the loyal, than the disfranchisement of the disloyal, and the parcelling out to the poor of the South, black

and white, her large landed estates." In all the discourses of this remarkable man and remarkable writer, there is much to disagree with (as bove) and much to agree with.

The cry of a portion of the public for the hanging of the chief leaders of the rebellion seems to have been the exciting cause of this discourse. A cry for blood is always horrible, always demoralizing. The work of punishment, in any shape, the doing of harm to those who have done harm, is one that the wise and good will not be eager to undertake. And yet there is such a work as retributive justice to be done in this world, and the doing of some part of it is a duty beonging to human society. Especially will it be unwise to neglect this duty when its execution forms part of the important function of preventing further

warning against the repetition of the enormous crime of the Southern leaders; and further, that we owe to the great mass of the Southern people, black and white, protection against the personal influence of the men who have always deceived and misled them. ome hundreds, at least, of the leading rebels should be taken away, permanently, from the sight and hear ing of those whom they have hitherto misgoverned and miseducated. There are three possible methods of taking them away. Of these I think capital pun ishment the worst; worst for us, though none too bad for them. Of these hundreds there are a few dozens who so combine great ability with great wickedness that it would be unjustifiable to leave them at large anywhere. Let these, in a felon's dress, be confined at hard labor for life, and let the rest be banished for life, subject to the same doom whenever they return. Davis. Lee and Stephens are among the very wors of the rebel leaders. If they are not hanged it is to be hoped that they will have the opportunity of beginning, under government inspection and superintendence, to earn their own living. Long enough, and too ong, have they sustained their disgraceful existence

LOVERS AND THINKERS: A Novel. By Hewes Gordon. New York: Carleton, Publisher, 413 Broadway. 1865."-pp. 287.

This novel seems written from a sense of duty and with a serious purpose, and it gives useful lessons regard to life, love and thought, theological and other n many books of this sort the thought is poorer than the imaginative form in which it is clothed. Here it is richer; and indeed so positively good as to have exited the ire of that portion of the press which calls itself "religious." Describing the thoughts, doubts, faith, love, aspirations and activities of "Earnest Actou," in the ten years through which we have just passed, it touches, and gives heathful suggestion upon, some of the deepest problems of our time, and of all time. Perhaps confirmed bigots had better take the advice of their favorite newspapers, and not read

THE SECESSIONISTS carried most of the counties in Virginia, where an election was held; last week, for members of the Legislature. This is ample indication that the white population of that State are not yet fit to be again received back into the Union. They have not been sufficiently humbled to perceive that the national authorities, sustained by the people of the North, will never consent that the reorganization of the different State Governments of the South shall be effected by men who have done their utinost to blot the United States from the roll of nations. The loyal people of the South, white and black, can alone be safely intrusted with the duty of restoring the insurpeople of the South, white and black, can alone be safely intrusted with the duty of restoring the insurgent sections to their proper relation to the Union. There is much discussion, at present, about investing the colored man with the right of suffrage in the seeded States. It will not, however, require many exhibitions of the unsubdued temper of the rebels, to convince those who mean to crush the rebellion forever that the loyalty of the dark-skinned Southern population must inevitably be called into requisition to save the country.—Transcript.

THE FREEDMEN IN THE CAROLINAS. Letters fro Raleigh, from persons conversant with the sentiments of the slaveholders in North and South Carolina, state of the slaveholders in North and South Carolina, state that the negroes in those States are being driven away from their old homes by their former masters, who refuse to hire them as free laborers. The consequence is, the blacks are in a pitiable condition. The feeling of the slaveholders against the negroes is much intensified by the remembrance of the fact that the success of our arms in those States was promoted by the loyalty of the blacks. IMPORTANT OFFICIAL PAPER.

AMNESTY TO REBELS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: A PROCLAMATION.

WASHINGTON, May 29.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States of America, on the 8th day of December, A. D. 1863, and on the 26th day of March, A. D. 1864, did, with the object of suppressing the existing rebellion, to induce all persons to return to loyalty, and to restore the authority of the United States, issue proclamations offering amnesty and pardon to certain persons who had directly or by implication participated in the said rebellion: and.

WHEREAS, Many persons who had so engaged in said rebellion; and,
Watereas, Many persons who had so engaged in said rebellion have, since the issuance of said proclamation, failed or neglected to take the benefits offered thereby; and,
WHEREAS, Many persons who have been justly desired.

whereas, any persons who have been justly de-prived of all claim to amnesty and pardon thereunder, by reason of their participation, directly or by impli-cation, in said rebellion, and continued hostility to the government of the United States, since the date of said proclamation, now desire to apply for and obtain

government of the United States, since the date of said proclamation, now desire to apply for and obtain amnesty and pardon:

To the end, therefore, that the authority of the government of the United States may be restored, and that peace, order and freedom may be established, I, ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States, do proclaim and declare that I hereby grant to all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, amnesty and pardon, with restoration to all the rights of property, except as to slavery, and except in cases where legal proceedings under the laws of the United States proceding for the confiscation of property of persons engaged riding for the confiscation of property of persons engin rebellion have been instituted; but on the condi nevertheless, that every such person shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation, and thence-forward keep and maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be registered for permanent preser-vation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following,

"I, \_\_\_\_do solemnly swear (or affirm) in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder, and that I will in like manner abide by, and faithfully port, all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves. So help me God."

The following classes of persons are excepted from is proclamation:
First—All who are, or all who shall have been,

rist—All who are, or all who shall have been, pretended civil or diplomatic officers or otherwise, or foreign agents of the Confederate government;
SECOND—All who left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion;
Third—All who shall have been military or naval officers of said pretended Confederate government above the rank of colonel in the army or lieutenant in the nave. the navy;
FOURTH-All who left seats in the Congress of the

United States to aid the rebellion;

FIFTH—All who resigned or tendered resignations of their commissions in the army or navy of the United States to evade duty in resisting the rebellion; SIXTH-All who have engaged in any way in treating otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, per-sons found in the United States service as officers,

sons found in the United States service as omcers, soldiers, seamen, or in other capacities;

Seventh—All persons who have been, or are, absentees from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion;

Eight —All military and naval officers in the

EIGHTH—All military and naval officers in the rebel service who were educated by the government in the Military Academy at West Point, or the United States Naval Academy;

NINTH—All persons who held the pretended office of Governors of States in insurrection against the United States;

TENTH—All persons who left their homes within the jurisdiction and protection of the United States, and passed beyond Federal military lines into the so-called Confederate States, for the purpose of aiding the rebellion;

rebellion;
ELEVENTH—All persons who have been engaged in the destruction of the commerce of the United States upon the high seas, and all persons who have made raids into the United States from Canada, or been entitled to the United States from Canada, or been entitled to the United States. raids into the United States from Canada, or been engaged in destroying the commerce of the United States upon the lakes and rivers that separate the British Provinces from the United States;

Twilthim—All persons who, at the time when they seek to obtain the benefits hereof by taking the oath

TWELFTH—All persons who, at the time when they seek to obtain the benefits bereof by taking the oath herein prescribed, are in military, naval, or civil confinement or custody, or under bonds of the civil, military, or naval authorities or agents of the United States as prisoners of war, or persons detained for offences of any kind either before or after conviction;

THITKENTH—All persons who have voluntarily participated in said rebellion, and the value of whose taxable property is over twenty thousand dollars;

FOURTEENTH—All persons who have taken the oath of anmesty as prescribed in the President's proclamation of Dec. 8, A. D. 1863, or an oash of allegiance to the Government of the United States since the date of said proclamation, and have not thenceforward kept and maintained the same inviolate;

PROVIDED, That special application may be made to the President for pardon by any person belonging to the excepted classes; and such clemency will be liberally extended as may be consistent with the facts of the case, and the peace and dignity of the United States.

The Secretary of State will establish rules and regulations for administering and recording said amnesty oath, so are to ensure its benefit to the people and guard the Government against fraud.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. affixed.

one at the city of Washington the twenty-ninth day
of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight
hundred and sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States, the eighty-ninth.

ANDREW JOHNSON. WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

SURRENDER OF REBEL FORCES WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI. WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., May 27, 1865.

To Major General Dix:

A dispatch from Gen. Canby, dated at New Orleans 26th inst., states that the arrangements for the surrender of the rebel forces in the trans-Mississippi Department have been concluded. They include the men and material of the army and navy.

EDWIN M. STANTON,

Secretary of War.

The Memphis Bulletin has a special dispatch from New Orleans, dated the 23d, which says: "Generals Price, Buckner, Brant and nine staff officers arrived here to-day as Commissioners from Kirby Smith, to negotiate with Gen. Canby for terms of surrender. Generals Price, Buckner and Dick Taylor on the part of the rebels, and Generals Canby and Herron had a consultation, the result of which is reported to be the surrender of all the rebels in the trans-Mississippi Department on the same terms as those accorded to Johnston and Lee."

END OF THE REBELLION. The surrender of Kirby Smith, with all the insurgent forces west of the Mississippi, leaves no rebel army in the field. The rebellion, as far as regards military resistance, is over. Not a man is in arms against the government in the whole space of 800,000 square miles which the Confederates originally claimed as their territory. Every Southerner, on the land or on the sea, who should now lift his hand against the constituted authorities, would plainly be either a murderer or a pirate, and could be proceeded against as a common felon.

RETURN OF TROOPS. Adjutant General Schouler received the following dispatch yesterday from Gov. Andrew, dated Washington, May 27: "Organizations entitled to discharge will be sert home as such tor muster out and discharge. Individuals will be transferred and temporarily attached to other organizations when needful, so that all may arrive home as soldiers with arms, equipage and flags."

As previously stated, the troops whose term of service would expire before October 1 will soon be mustered out. The 54th, mustered May 13, 1863, 55th on June 22, 1863, both colored, have a year longer to serve. The 56th, 57th, 58th and 59th have about two years longer to serve. They have all been so greatly

years longer to serve. They have all been so greatly reduced by hard service during the last year that it has been supposed they will be consolidated into one

New York, May 29. Gen. Howard, Commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau, has issued an order to prohibit the dispossessing of freedmen of the land they are cultivating, abandoned by disloyal former

they are cultivating, abandoned by distoyal formers.

The Herald's dispatch says the government is in possession of information that Sanders and Thompson were not only accessories to the murder of the President, but to the plot to spread the yellow fever and introduce it into the White House.

The Commercial's Washington dispatch says the trial of Jeff. Davis, before the Circuit Court, will commence as soon as the conspiracy case is disposed of.

The Committee on the Conduct of the War has information from Richmond, announcing the arrest of Gen. R. E. Lee.

Colored Entertainment. A most pleasant and interesting entertainment was given at the Temple Tuesday evening, in the presence of a large audience, principally white ladies and gentlemen, who had occasion to appliand frequently and warmly. It was the annual entertainment of the 12th Baptist Sabbath School, Rev. Mr. Grimes's, colored. There was a programme of twenty-six pieces, recitations, music, in solo, quartettes, and choruses, and it was charming. About forty girls and boys, and young men and women were on the platform, most of them handsom by attired. A solo and quartette by Misses Fannie and G. H. Washington, and Mr. W. Smith, and O. Ruffin, "Brother, tell me of the battle," was enthusiastically encored, as also several other pieces. Miss Rachel Washington, the music teacher, presided at the plano. The preliminary prayer was made by Rev. Mr. Stowe. Pollitical. It is stated that Vallandigham has

POLITICAL. It is stated that Vallandigham has written a letter to the Young Men's Democratic Association of Lancaster, Pa., in which he acknowledges his errors as to the rebellion, rejoices that slavery is destroyed and the Union saved, sees no reason why the Democrate should not give a cordial support to President Johnson, and declares that, with freedom, the South will become more populous, prosperous and powerful than any other section. THE YELLOW FEVER CONSPIRATOR Blackburn

THE YELLOW FEVER CONSPIRATOR: BIACROUPH, the yellow fever conspirator, it seems, set out on his mission as a breeder of pestilence by volunteering his services gratuitously to the British Admiralty during the prevalence of the fever at Bermuda. For his labors there, he was highly complimented by Vice Admiral Hope. A reward of £100 sterling was tendered to him by the Lords of the Admiralty, and he appears to have enjayed the repute of a man supremely appears to have enjoyed the repute of a man supre devoted to charitable and philanthropic enterpris EXPLOSION OF THE ORDNANCE DEPOT AND MAGA-

EXPLOSION OF THE ORDNANCE DEPOY AND MACAZINE. FIVE HUNDRED PERSONS BURIED IN THE RUINS. CHICAGO, Ill., May 29. The Tribune's New Orleans dispatches of the 25th state that the Ordnance Depot and Magazine at Mobile exploded at 2 o'clock yesterday. The shock was terrific. The city shook to its very foundations. Eight squares of buildings were destroyed. Five hundred persons were buried in the ruins. Loss \$8,000,000. Origin of the explosion not yet ascertained. on not yet ascertained.

Fernelius calls disease an affection of the body contrary to nature: a perturbation of its habits: a derangement of its courses. What disease is, sometimes eludes human intelligence, but some diseases are known—their origin, action, and even their antidotes. Whoever has discovered an actual remedy for one disease has done something for his race. Doct. Ayer has done more, for his medicines afford us the means to control and cure several dangerous disorders. We rarely speak on medical subjects, preferring to leave them to physicians, who understand them better. But such effects as are seen in our midst, on affections of such effects as are seen in our midst, on affections of the lungs by Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, on scrofulous complaints by his Sarsaparilla, and on the several complaints they now cure by Ayer's Pills, should not be ignored.—[Keokuk, (Iowa) Journal.]

PLEDGES. Made to the American Anti-Slavery Society, Evening of May 12th, 1865, at Cooper Institute. Ludlow Patton, L. D. Yates, Jas. K. Place, 5,00 I. S. Tompkins, 50,00 I. S. Schultz, L. D. Yates, Jas. K. Place, 25.00 Mrs. M. C. Severane 20,00 I. C. Ferguson, 5,00 Geo. W. Hunt, 5,00 C. Griffith,

5,00 I. T. White, 1,00 Miss Anna Dickinson, 25,00 Geo. L. Stearns, 5,00 John Williams, L. Francis, Jas. Williams, Total of Pledges May 12th, 717 00 Total, \$881 41 Additional pledges-sent by Mrs. A. K. Foster. Additional pecusisment of the Addition to first pledge, see report of Finance Committee), \$5 00 Sarah J. Nowell, Cambridgeport, Mass. 20 00 Miss Mary F. Richmond, pd. her pledge, 5 00 Miss G. E. Watson, 10 00

Mrs. Alexander, M. H. Anderson,

THE THIRTEENTH YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS will be held at Longwood (near Hamorton,) Chester Co., Pa., commencing at 11 c'clock, A. M., on Fifth day, (Thursday,) the 8th of Sixth

nonth. (June.) 1865, and continuing, probably, three days. OLIVER JOHNSON, RACHEL WILSON, ANNIE M. STAMBACH. EUSEBIUS BARNARD, MARY ANN FULTON, BENJAMIN C. BACON, SUSANNA P. CHAMBERS, ALFRED H. LOVE, LUCRETIA NAVLOR. THEODORE TILTON, JENNIE K. SMITH. CARROLL DUNHAM. ANNA E. DICKINSON, WILLIAM LLOYD. Among those whose presence is confidently anticipated are George Thompson of England, William Lloyd Garri-

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS .- The Year-Meeting of Friends of Human Progress will be held at the usual place near Waterloo, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, 2d, 3d and 4th days of June next.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AARON M. POWELL, GILES B. STEBBINS, GEO. W. TAYLOR, and other gifted speakers from abroad, will be present to ticipate, and lend interest to the occasion.

Communications for the meeting should be addressed to PHEBE B. DEAN, Waterloo, N. Y.

DIED-In Brooklyn, Ct., May 24, Mr. PHILIP SCARовочен, aged 77. Mr. Scarborough was one of the earliest Abolitionists; ver true, clear-sighted, and deeply interested in the trinumph of the Anti-Slavery cause. As a citizen, he was much respected for his solid worth and exemplary life. His friendship we prized, and warmly reciprocated. So, one by one, with increasing rapidity, the primitive friends of the fettered bondmen are gathering to their final rest,

THEODORE PARKER'S "LIFE THOUGHTS."

rejoicing that "Jehovah has triumphed-his people are

HIS MOST POPULAR WORK! Lessons from the World of Matter and the World of Man."

BY THEODORE PARKER.

Selected from Notes of Unpublished Sermons, by Rurus LEIGHTON. Just published-420 pages, tinted paper and illustrated title, with portrait-an ELEGANT OCTAVO VOLUME.

PRICE \$2 50. Copies sent by mail, postpaid, on receipt of price.o CHARLES W. SLACK,

Publisher, No. 8 Bromfield St., Boston.
May 19.

Dr. Ayer's Cathartic Pills

ARE the most perfect purgative which we are able to produce, or which we think has ever yet been produced by anybody. Their effects have abundantly shown to the community how much they excel the ordinary medicines in use. They are safe and pleasant to take, but powerful to cure. Their penetrating properties stimulate the vital activities of the body, remove the obstructions of ite organs, parify the blood, and exped disease. They purge out the foul humors which breed and grow distemper, stimulate sluggish or disordered organs into their natural action, and impart a healthy tone, with strength to the whole system. Not only do they cure the every-day complaints of everybody, but also formidable and dangerous diseases. While they produce powerful effects, they are, at the same time, in diminished does, the mfest and best physic that can be employed for children. Being suare, at the stime time, in diminished does, the meet and best physic that can be employed for children. Being su-gar-coated, they are pleasant to take; and, being purely vegetable, are free from any risk of harm. Cures have been made which surpass belief, were they not substan-tiated by men of such exalted position and character as to forbid the suspicion of untruth. Many eminent elergymen and physicians have lent their names to carry to the pub-lic the reliability of our remedies, while others have sent as the assurance of their conviction that our Preservations. us the assurance of their conviction that our Pre

us the assurance of their conviction that our Preparations contribute immensely to the relief of our afflicted, suffering fellow-men.

The Agent below named is pleased to farnish gratis our American Almanac, containing directions for the use and certificates of their cures, of the following complaints:—Costiveness, Bilious Complaints, Rheumatism, Dropsy, Heartburn, Headache arising from foul stomach, Naucea, Indigestion, Morbid Inaction of the Bowels and palu arising therefrom, Fiatulency, Loss of Appetite, all diseases which require an evacuant medicine. They also, by purifying the blood and stimulating the system, cure many complaints which it would not be supposed they could reach, such as Deafness, Partial Blindness, Neuralgia and Nervous Irritability, Derangements of the Liver and Kidneys, Gout, and other kindred complaints arising from a low state of the body, or obstruction of its functions.

Do not be put off by unprincipled dealers with other preparations which they make no profit on. Demand Ayan's, and take no others. The siak want the best aid there is for them, and they should have it.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & CO., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all druggists.

A. M. IDE. MARTIN GRIFFIN. JOEL MERRIAM, JR.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

FOULLY ASSASSINATED APRIL 14, 1865. You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier, You, who with mocking peneil wont to trace,

Broad for the self-complacent British sneer, His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face, His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair, His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease, His lack of all we prize as debonair, Of power or will to shine, of art to please;

You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh, Judging each step as though the way were plain; Reckless, so it could point its paragraph Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain :

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew, Between the mourners at his head and feet, Say, scurril-jester, is there room for you?

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer, To lame my pencil, and confute my pen— To make me own this hind of princes peer, This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learnt to rue, Noting how to occasion's height he rose, How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true, How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows.

How humble yet how hopeful he could be : How in good fortune and in ill the same : Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he, Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work-such work as few Ever had laid on head and heart and hand-As one who knows, where there 's a task to do, Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace com-

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow, That God makes instruments to work his will, If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle, on the side That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's, As in his peasant boyhood he had plied His warfare with rude Nature's thwarting mights-

The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil, The iron-bark, that turns the lumberer's axe, The rapid, that o'erbears the boatman's toil, The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,

The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear-Such were the deeds that helped his youth to train Rough culture-but such trees large fruit may bear, If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destined work to do, And lived to do it : four long-suffering years' Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report, lived through, And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise, And took both with the same unwavering mood : Till, as he came on light, from darkling days, And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him, Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest,-And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim, Those gaunt, long-laboring limbs were laid to rest! The words of mercy were upon his lips,

Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen, When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse To thoughts of peace on earth, good-will to men The Old World and the New, from sea to sea, Utter one voice of sympathy and shame !

Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high ; Sad life, cut short just as its triumph can A deed accurst! Strokes have been struck before By the assassin's hand, whereof men doubt If more of horror or disgrace they bore ; But thy foul orime, like Cain's, stands darkly out.

Vile hand, that brandest murder on a strife, Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and nobly striven ; And with the martyr's crown crownest a life With much to praise, little to be forgiven.

# THE HOUR OF NORTHERN VICTORY.

BY PANNY KEMBLE.

Roll not a drum, sound not a clarion-note Of haughty triumph to the silent sky; Hushed be the shout of joy in every throat, And vailed the flash of pride in every eye.

Not with Te Deums loud and high Hosannas, Greet we the awful victory we have won, th our arms reversed and lowered banners We stand-our work is done !

Thy work is done, God, terrible and just, Who laidst upon our hands and hearts this task, And, kneeling with our foreheads in the dust, We venture Peace to ask, Bleeding and writhing underneath our sword,

Prostrate our brethren lie, Thy fallen foe, Struck down by Thee, through us, avenging Lord-By Thy dread hand laid low. For our own guilt have we been doomed to smite

These, our own kindred, Thy great laws defying; These, our own flesh and blood, who now unite In one thing only with us-bravely dying. Dying how bravely, yet how bitterly !

Not for the better side, but for the worse, Blindly and madly striving against Thee
For the bad cause where Thou hast set Thy curse. At whose defeat we may not raise our voice,

Save in the deep thanksgiving of our prayers,
"Lord! we have fought the fight!" But to rejoice Is ours no more than theirs.

Call back Thy dreadful ministers of wrath Who have led on our hosts to this great day; Let our feet halt now in the avenger's path, And bid our weapons stay.

Upon our land, Freedom's inheritance, Turn Thou once more the splendor of Thy face, Where nations serving Thee to light advance, Give us again our place !

Not our bewildering past prosperity, Not all thy former ill-requited grace, But this one boon-Oh! grant us still to be The home of Hope to the whole human race ! April 25, 1865. -London Spectator.

## [BY REQUEST.] WELCOME AND TEARS,

ON THE RETURN OF THE ARMY OF PREEDOM. . BY G. W. LIGHT.

Living heroes! wreathed with laure Pride of valiant sires! Kindled by your homeward footsteps, All the country fires !

Listen to the grateful beating Of the nation's heart; Where no words may sound the welcome Joyful tears can start !

While the sun shall gild the morning, Through advancing days, Your renown, with ages heightening, Every land shall praise !

But the tread of noble victors, Shonting for the great salvation Martyr blood has sealed,

Keenly minds us of the heroes,-Offerings to the time,-Who with us are now rejoicing On the hills sublime! Smiling, they the gloom would scatter, And our sorrows drown, While they becken us to see them

Wear the patriot's crown !

And our hearts, with music thrilling, Bless the Father's care ; Still the team will flow, unbidden, Round the "vacant chair !"

Ah! the minstrel knows the anguish Mingled with the joy; While he sings his heart is bleeding For his martyr boy !

Martyrs, rest! from stormy winter Passed to glorious spring! Men shall now your deeds majestic Through the ages sing!

Proudly rest ! The world's great battle Now is fought and won ! Leaving fame to shine in story, Brilliant as the sun!

Peace in morning bloom returning Every region glows; While throughout the ransomed country Freedom's trumpet blows!

# Selections.

## TO THE READERS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

It will be seen from the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, herewith published, that the proposition of Mr. Garrison, the President, to dissolve the Society, was voted down by a large manifest that the Society is distributed by Society is distributed by Society in the Society in the Society is distributed by Society in the Society in the Society is distributed by Society in the Society in the Society is distributed by Society in the Soci jority, and that the Society is to go on under a new administration. While it is undoubtedly true that administration. While it is undoubtedly true that a majority of the members present were opposed to a dissolution of the Society at the present time, the list of those who voted on that side, if published, (as it ought to have been, together with the yeas.) would be found to embrace the names of not a few whose right to vote at all we make the names of solutions.

singntest support or countenance, seeing now, as they thought, an opportunity to make it an agent for the promotion of party ends, took advantage of the liberal terms of membership to enrol their names and cast their votes. Of this, however, I do not complain, for I think it a righteous retribution upon the Society for the loose and unbusiness-like way in which it has conducted its proceedings.

Among those who voted against Mr. Garrison's proposition were some of his oldest and trucest friends, who differed from him with heartfelt regret, but whose convictions of duty were as strong as his own. They clung to the Society with warm affection, as the symbol of past sacrifices and struggles in the cause of the slave; and while they had no doubt that slavery was virtually dead, and that the Constitutional Amendment would be completely ratified in a few months, they felt that the Society ought to skeep together until that ratification should be officially proclaimed. Between this class and those who voted for dissolution there was a harmony of feeling, a mutual respect for each other's opinions and motives, which nothing in the future is likely to who voted for dissolution there was a harmony of feeling, a mutual respect for each other's opinions and motives, which nothing in the future is likely to disturb. The question whether the Society should dissolve now or in the near future was not in itself of much consequence, and could nove have not tive Committee may do as an affortheadth can be of much consequence, and could never have produced any serious division among its members and friends. But, while this was the question, and the only question, in the minds of a majority of those voting against dissolution, it was not so with all. The time, it seems to me, has come, when it should be frankly stated, for the information of Abolition-Anniversary gatherings, as well as of friendly outsiders, that there has existed in the Society for a
considerable time a small but busy clique, who, finding that Mr. Garrison interposed a steady and firm
resistance to their imprudences and extravaganees
of speech and action, have labored diligently to undermine the confidence of Abolitionists not merely
in his judgment, but in his fidelity to the cause. In
their private talk they have spoken of him as an in his judgment, but in his fidelity to the cause. In their private talk they have spoken of him as an "old fogy," fit no longer to lead the anti-slavery host, while in annual meetings and conventions they have raised invidious issues, begetting contentions and strifes which made the judicious grieve for the reproach thus cast upon the cause. Mr. Garrison's course during the war has been particularly obnoxious to these reckless iconoclasts, who could find any ground for hope that slavery would be abolished by its agency. Mr. Garrison, while careful to bear his testimony against every act of the government, nor ished by its agency. Mr. Garrison, while careful to bear his testimony against every act of the government, nor ished by its agency. Mr. Garrison, while careful to bear his testimony against every act of the government, nor ished by its agency. Mr. Garrison, while careful to be abolished by its agency. Mr. Garrison, while careful to be an analysis of the part of wisment that was inconsistent with anti-slavery principles, and to claim for the negro all his rights as a cidental points, while its purp man and a citizen, felt it to be his duty to temper slavery from every inch of American and a citizen, felt it to be his duty to temper slavery from every inch of American and a citizen, felt it to be his duty to temper slavery from every inch of American and a citizen, felt it to be his duty to temper slavery from every inch of American and a citizen, felt it to be his duty to temper slavery from every inch of American and a citizen, felt it to be his duty to temper slavery from every inch of American and a citizen, felt it to be his duty to temper slavery from every inch of American and a citizen, felt it to be his duty to temper slavery from every inch of American and a citizen, felt it to be his duty to temper slavery from every inch of American and a citizen and a citiz ples, and to claim for the negro all his rights as a man and a citizen, felt it to be his duty to temper criticism with justice and candor, to make honest and even generous allowance for the embarrassments under which the government labored, and to check the tendency to indiscriminate and reckless denunciation, which seemed to increase in certain quarters in proportion to the constantly bright. less denunciation, which seemed to increase in certain quarters in proportion to the constantly brightening prospect that slavery was about to be utterly.

The course of the paper during the last President and the proposed that slavery was about to be utterly.

ism" which, in the name of liberty, was making isself the tool of slavery. The Fremont movement entrapped some noble and honest men, but Mr. Garadoptic adoptic reduces to the contract which be entrapped some none and nonest men, out air. Gar-rison was not among them. The support which he r gave to the Administration at this critical period of

erally perceive this, and were not a little surprised when the fact was made known to them.

Next came a farce such as is rarely enacted on any stage. Having so constituted the Executive Committee that he and those who agreed with him could have no voice in the management of the Society, they tendered to Mr. Garrison, in the face of his positive determination to retire from the office, a reelection to the Presidency! They knew, of course, that he would decline; that, to say nothing of his fixed determination to withdraw, he could not, with decent self-respect, consent to be the mere figure head of a Society in whose management he was no longer to have a voice. On the part of the great the case, the vote to reelect him was a heartfelt tribute of honor and reverence, and Mr. Garrison accepted it in the same spirit; but the nomination was made for effect, and in the contained in the presence of an enthusiantic assembly, "For the first time in our history, the slave has chosen a President of the United States"? If this was true in 1864! It follows then that he Standard and for the slave. Its partizanship had "this extent, no more." which the Editors of the Standard have been accused. They have been charged before the Executive in the part of the great of the grea would be declined, as the subsequent proceedings bound to declare that we see no evidence of its pur-

nus of the Society under the new admin-The animus of the Society under the new administration may be inferred from the disposition it made of a resolution introduced by Rev. Samuel May, Jr., as follows:

May, Jr., as follows:

Resolved, That this Society regards it as a duty, as it is its pleasure, to acknowledge the eminent ability and moral fidelity with which its organ, the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDAED, has been conducted from the first, and at every period of its existence, for the term of twenty five full years; especially does the Society at this time contemplate with satisfaction and approval the wise forecast, the just discrimination, the faithful criticism, the generous appreciation of every advance in favor of freedom made by the American government and people, which have characterized the paper during the eventful and perilous four years of the war; and in taking leave of its retiring editors, the Society tenders to them the assurance of its sincerest respect and hearty gratitude. In order to prevent a discussion of this resolution,

Stephen S. Foster promptly moved that it be referred to the Executive Committee—a motion tanferred to the Executive Committee—a motion tantamount, of course, to laying it upon the table, since that Committee, as newly constituted, does not approve of the manner in which the Standard has been conducted during the last year. The motion would have been fair enough if the motive for making it had been honestly avowed, or general. would have been lair enough if the motive for making it had been honestly avowed, or generally understood. The time was singularly unfavorable for intelligent action upon any subject. The session had been prolonged from 10 o'clock a. m. to 3 p. m.; the vote on the question of dissolution had just been taken after an exciting debate; many of the members of the Society had gone out for food and freely list of those who voted on the country of the series of th

those who avoided a discussion of it in the war above described was that which commended Standard for its "generous appreciation of every advance in favor freedom made by the American Anniversary gatherings, as well as of friendly outsiders, that there has existed in the Society for a y its agency. Mr. Garrison, while careful to a testimony against every act of the government was inconsistent with anti-slavery princidom to magnify its short-comings upon minor and in-

ening prospect that slavery was about to be utterly exterminated. He was convinced by the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, that President Lincoln, though slow, was sure, and that it was his purpose to destroy slavery root and branch; and been most signally justified.

As the Presidential election of 1864 drew nigh, Mr. Garrison saw the danger of a Copperhead triumph through a division in the loyal party of the North, and believing that union upon any other candidate was impossible, he lent his powerful support to the first of the tool of the name of liberty, was making its the attempt makes about deep content to the people and the government. The course of the paper during the last Presidential election was regulated by the principles which have ever been the guide of Abolitionists in their bear have ever been the guide of Abolitionists in their objective had been, upon those moral and spiritual weapons which are mighty through God for the parties to present their candidates and platforms, and then it tried those candidates and platforms, and then it tried those candidates and platforms, and then it tried those candidates and platforms, the proportion of the government.

The course of the paper during the last Presidential election was regulated by the principles which have ever been the guide of Abolitionists in their bave read been, upon those moral and spiritual weapons which are mighty through God for the overthrow of every form of iniquity. It took no part in the movement of parties, but waited, as and platforms, and then it tried those candidates and platforms and the government. r. Lincoln, and rebuked the reckless "radicalthe cause it served, fail to expose and denounce
the tool of slavery. The Frencht revenues."

The Frencht revenues the Convented Develand to win the support of the Copperhead Democracy for Fremont by adoption of a platform in which anti-slavery reduced to an infinitesimal quantity, while the accusations of the Administration at this critical period was of immense value, but it exposed him to fresh imputations from the clique above alluded to, some of whom carried their folly so far as to maintain that the cause of liberty had more to hope from the Cleveland Convention, with John Cochrane for President and manager, than from the American port either, according to circumstances the Stand. Cleveland Convention, with John Cochrane for Precident and manager, than from the American Anti-Slavery Society, inspired and led by Garrison! The call of that Convention contained not one anti-slavery line or word nor even a remote allusion to compared as it was bound to do the fact that the The eall of that Convention contained not one antislavery line or word, nor even a remote allusion to
the slavery question, and was nothing but a rehash
of the Copperhead cries against the Administration;
and yet there were Abolitionists deluded enough to
tics," or, in the words of a prominent champion of
the movement, an effort to "lift American politics
into the sphere of morals and religion."

We allude to this matter now, not to fight over

cle was fitted to excite. On the other hand, it recognized, as it was bound to do, the fact that the
Baltimore platform denounced slavery as "the
tause and strength of the rebellion," and declared
soil of the republic " was demanded by "justice
and the national safety"; and it approved and enditself in favor of "such an Amendment to the Constitution as should terminate and forever problibit the into the sphere of morals and religion."

We allude to this matter now, not to fight over again the battle with the Fremont movement, but simply to explain the division in the anti-slavery ranks which has culminated at last in a revolution of the United States." Except negro sufficient the American Anti-Slavery Society and its orcicly had ever demanded. If, in 1856, Abolitionists were justified in desiring the election of Fremont ranks when has culminated at last in a revolution in the American Anti-Slavery Society and its organ. Mr. Garrison, having come to the conclusion that the time had arrived for a dissolution of the Society, announced his determination beforehand to terminate his official relations with it at the recent annual meeting. A majority of the Executive Committee also declined a recelection. Here was an opportunity, which Mr. Garrison's opponents eagerly embraced, to gain possession of the Society. Rallying all their forces, finding allies in many outsiders, and following the skillful leadership of Wendell Phillips, they easily attained their object. It was inevitable, under such circumstances, after the Society refused to dissolve, that it should fall under their management. Those of Mr. Garrison's friends, however, who voted against dissolution, did not generally perceive this, and were not a little surprised when the fact was made known to them.

Next came a farce such as is rarely enacted on

the Administration, still, as Abolitionists, we feel and to declare that we see no evidence of its pur-

tors, in disregarding this instruction, com disgrace." This preposterous charge, I am happy to say, found no support in the Executive Committee save that of Mr. Phillips himself, and it will be couted as absurd by every reflecting mind. The resolution is not, in any sense, a resolution of in-struction to the Editors of the Standard, and if it were, it would not help Mr. Phillips's argument in the least, for they have never violated it. It was not pretended by them at any time that Mr. Lin-coln was for negro suffrage. The favor which they coln was for negro suffrage. The favor which they showed him was upon other grounds altogether, viz: showed him was upon other grounds altogether, viz: upon the various anti-slavery acts of his Administration, and because he was pledged to the utter extirpation of slavery. The simple truth is, that the question of negro suffrage, as connected with the rehabilitation of the rebel States, was not directly involved in the last Presidential election. The Cleveland Convention was wholly silent respective. Cleveland Convention was wholly silent respecting it, only declaring that "the Federal Constitution th, only dectaring that the rederal constitutions should be so amended as to secure to all men equality before the law." Now, admitting that the phrase

ty before the law." Now, admitting that the phrase "equality before the law" includes suffrage, this plank of the Cleveland platform did not pledge its supporters to give the ballot to the negro, at the time of reconstruction, but implied, on the contrary, the necessity of an alteration of the Constitution before that measure could be carried into affect. before that measure could be carried into effect!

The Presidential struggle, moreover, was not be-The Presidential struggle, moreover, was not between Lincoln and Fremont, but between Lincoln and McClellan; and I maintain that the course pursued by the Standard in that contest was not the dictate of partizanship, but of the time-honored principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society. On this point I fearlessly appeal to the conscience and common sense of Abolitionists in every part of the country, and I am willing to abide their verdict. This charge of partizanship is itself partizan. For the first time in the history of the Anti-Siavery Movement, Mr. Phillips came to the Anniversary last year as a politician, to promote the interest of

last year as a politician, to promote the interest a favorite candidate. In previous years he ha taken no part in the management of parties, but common with his associates upon the anti-slaver in common with his associates upon the anti-stavery platform, had always waited for the parties to make their nominations, and then passed judgment upon them impartially in the light of anti-slavery princiw, however, he was himself directly engaged in working the party machinery, and it would seem that it was his desire and purpose, if possible, to control the Standard in the interest of his favorite condition. his favorite candidate. The charge of partizan-ship, against the Editors of this paper, I take leave snip, against the scatters of this paper, and leave to say, comes with an ill-grace from the man who thus left the time-honored and well-worn anti-slave-

ry track to become a political manager.

The members and friends of the American Anti-The memoers and triends of the American Anti-Slavery Society at a distance will not be able to un-derstand the revolution that has just taken place in its management unless I add, that in consequence of the difference of opinion between himself and the Editors upon the subject above alluded to, Mr. Phillips refused, during the last years to take part in Phillips refused, during the last year, to take part in any effort to raise the funds necessary to keep the Standard alive. The last Subscription Festival had no assistance from him or his partizans, but encountered their indifference or opposition.

I sincerely wish that I had been spared the ne-

cessity of making these statements in the very mo-ment when I am taking my leave of the readers of ment when I am taking my leave of the readers of this paper. But I owed it to them not less than to myself to explain the cause of the revolution that has taken place in the Society. If opportunity had been afforded, the substance of what I have now.

But there is another ries of the relative to industry or wealth, it would be certain and speedy gain to both. From a careful consideration of the subject, your Committee have arrived at the same conclusion.

But there is another ries of the relative that it is another ries of the relative to the same conclusion. been afforded, the substance of what I have now written would have formed a part of the discussions of the annual meeting. It is a chapter of anti-slavery history which, however disagreeable, it was necessary to write for the information of Abolitionists,

essary to write for the information of Abolitionists, and to keep them from being mystified by passing events. It is in no respect expagerated, but rather an under-statement of the truth.

If the Society had been united in other respects, the question of dissolution could never have been either the cause or the occasion of division; for that is not a question of principle, but only of expanding. willing to remain at the head of the Society as ong as the majority might wish him to do so. The wisdom of his retirement, under the circumstances, will no doubt be vindicated in due time, to the sat-isfaction of all his friends; and we believe it will inrease the respect felt for him by the truest and any need of investigation, much less of improvewisest friends of liberty throughout the world, and
ment or amelioration in the condition of those augment his influence in shaping the fe

Thank God, the work of Abolitionists, so far as Thank God, the work of Abolitionists, so far as slavery is concerned, is done! Why run the mill rance; and your Committee must bear testimony Amendment is not yet tied up in the official red tape? There is nothing that Abolitionists can do to make its ratification more certain. Society actape? Inere is nothing that Aboutionists can do to make its ratification more certain. Society action is no more needful to this end than to ensure burn, or water run down hill.

# "Our nation's free! our nation's free! Proclaim the glorious jubilee! Sublimely let its echoes roll, And thrill with music to the soul."

ion. They are adapted to the wants of the present time, just as the Anti-Slavery Societies were to the demands of the period when the Slave Power was as yet unsubdued. The experiences of Abolition ists qualify them for great usefulness in these associations, and their cooperation will no doubt be wel-comed and highly appreciated. Standing by them-selves, they are few in numbers and fee by themselves, they are few in numbers and feeble in resources. They must decrease, while the new associations increase. As a leaven in the great mass of the people now coming forward to do the work of the hour, their influence will be most beneficent and powerful. Anti-Slavery Societies now are an anachronism—relics of the age of Sl. chronism-relics of the age of Slavery, now hap pily passed away. Noble in their birth, exalted in career, they should pass away with the necessity which created them.

OLIVER JOHNSON. -Anti-Slavery Standard of May 20th.

# REPORT ON HOURS OF LABOR.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. House of Representatives, April 18, 1865. The Joint Special Committee on the Apprentice System, to whom was referred the Order of March, 8th, instructing the Committee to inquire as to the propriety of reducing the hours of labor, sub-

ervation of the health and morals" of those

clearly showed. It was a piece of stage-play that deserved no one who understood the real facts of the case. The resolution complimentary to Mr. Garrison, that immediately followed, was seconded by a man who has for years been opposed to the adminard, and in whose eyes the Liberator, a little more than a year ago, was so permicious that he could do doubtful if it were not a sin to countenance it so him as a gratuity!

The animus of the Society under the new administration was the society under the new administration may be instruction, committed a little more far as to pay the postage on it when it was sent to the society under the new administration may be instruction, committed a little more far as to pay the postage on it when it was sent to the society under the new administration may be instruction, committed a little under the new administration may be instruction, committed a little under the new administration may be instruction, committed a little under the new administration may be instruction, committed a little under the new administration may be instruction, committed a little under the new administration of the Society under the new administration of the negro on such a basis as will secure it against every peril.

The phrase, "putting the freedom of the negro on such a basis as will secure it against every peril.

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The phrase is a swill secure it against every peril.

The phrase, "putting the freedom of the negro on such a basis as will s pose to put the freedom of the negro on such a basis as will secure it against every peril.

The phrase, "putting the freedom of the negro on such a basis as will secure it against every peril," was explained by Mr. Phillips to mean negro such as explained by Mr. Philli ing annually to the nation millions of tre

however, benind England in legislation, and, per-haps, in public opinion, upon the subject; certainly, in Massachusetts, we have had no legislation in rein Massachusetts, we have not no registation in regard to it. In 1850, in consequence of agitation, a committee was appointed by the legislature to inquire and report what legislation was necessary for the limitation of the hours of labor, particularly in the limitation of the hours of labor, particularly in the manufacturing companies incorporated by the State. The majority of the committee reported inexpedient to legislate." A minority presented a very able report, accompanied by a Bill, limiting the hours of labor, in chartered corporations, to eleven hours, during 1850; and, from the first day of July, 1851, to ten hours per day. The Bill passed the 1851, to ten hours per day. The Bill passed the House after a somewhat animated discussion, but was defeated in the Senate. This was the only attempt at limiting or defining the hours of labor within the Commonwealth. in the Commonwealth. the Commonwealth.

But, though there has been no legislation, yet

though the attempt at law failed, yet, owing to the demands of labor, and the enlightenment of public opinion, the present system of ten hours was secured. This is now very generally in use,—the only exceptions being in manufacturing towns and corporations, where they now require men, women and children to work eleven hours daily—one hour more than in England,—a disgrace, in our opinion, o Massachusetts, and an outrage on humanity. In hearings before our Committee, the testin

f, and it of those who appeared before us, and who repre-arpose, if sented and spoke the sentiments of thousands of their fellow-craftsmen, demonstrated, to our satisfac-partizan-tion, that not only could the productive industry of by the change, but capital also. It was shown by testimony of a very strong character, that many and great improvements were lost to industry and wealth by an absolute want of time on the part of mechanics to develop inventions and improvements, which would be of incalculable value to the world. The unanimous testimony of every person who appeared before the Committee, some thirty or forty witnesses. some of whom were representatives of cla dustry, was, that instead of this change of time be

But there is another view of the subject, which is vancement of man. and that we are called upon to atone for our apa-thy of the past by early and earnest action in the future. We have been surprised. ments which the investigation has produced, subject which has been before a committee of t legislature has elicited more important facts, been surprised at the develop terest of the most numerous class in the communi-ter, and one which has but too seldom, in our opinave enriched us, and whose skill and

velopment in machinery for the saving of labor progress in invention, and in the increase of wealth and material prosperity; yet Man, the producer of all these—"the first great cause of all," was the least of all, and least understood. The result Sublimely let its echoes roll,
And thrill with music to the soul."

The Abolitionists who have borne the heat and distinctive function. They should not, it seems to me, persist in occupying an isolated position, but rejoice in the opportunity to mingle with others in the great work of giving the emancipated slaves and joice in the opportunity to mingle with others in the great work of giving the emancipated slaves and the people of color generally the rights and immunities of citizens, and aiding them to rise above all the degrading influences of slavery and caste. It would be absurd to ask that the new wine of this day be put into our old bottles. The Freedmen's associations which are springing up on every hand are the spontaneous outgrowth of a regenerated public opinion. They are adapted to the wants of the present showing a steady demoralization of the men who showing a steady demoralization of the men who are the bulwarks of our national life; painful to are the bulwarks of our national line, paintage witness progress in that which is perishable, stagnation and decay in the imperishable and immortal—man. And yet such was the evidence to us. Instead of that manly and sturdy independence which once distinguished the mechanic and the workman,

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulate, and me

The subject is one of vast importance to the peo REPORT:

The subject of reducing the hours of labor is by no means a new one; nor is it confined solely to our own land. In England it was agitated for many years, both by capitalists and laborers; and as early as the year 1802, it became the subject of legislation, by an Act of Parliament for the "preservation of the health and morals" of the "preserv legislation, by an Act of Parliament for the "preservation of the health and morals" of those employed in cotton and other factories. In 1833 still further legislation was added by an Act, limiting the bours of labor to not more than twelve hours per fully discussed, and that it was denounced as an inmovation, alike dangerous to the wealth and government of the country. Notwithstanding the gloomy admirably, producing so marked an improvement both in the condition and character of the operatives, and the amount of the work accomplished, that a still further advance was taken in legislation, and in 1847, an Act of Parliament was passed, still day. "press new and peculiar significance; while our institu

ing annually to the nation millions of treasure and thousands of lives.

In our own country, the subject has, for many years, occupied the attention of the public, more particularly the workingmen themselves. We are, however, behind England in legislation, and, per-

there have been marked and radical changes in regard to the hours of labor. A marked change and improvement has already taken place. In 1850, the demand was for ten hours, because the operatives worked from twelve to fifteen hours daily; and though the attempt at law failed, yet, while to the

and the demand were unanimous for a still further decrease of the hours of labor; praying for a limitation, by law, of eight hours as a legal day's labor. It will thus be seen that this movement is progressive. or, as some may think, aggressive. Already, in this country, some four hours have been stricken from daily toil; and yet it is now sought to still further trench upon the industry of the community, by taking from it two hours of time and production. Will the industry of the land bear this? The testimony of those who appeared before us, and who reprethe country bear this, but even more than this. Nay, more, they claim that it will add to the productive industry, producing a greater quantity, and a better quality; and they have produced weighty evidence quanty; and they have produced weighty evidence from the experience of the past in support of it. From the evidence produced before the Committee, we are satisfied that not only will labor be benefited

even more important to us as a people than the mere increase of wealth, or the perfection of the mechanic arts—the protection, preservation and advancement of man. In this view, we feel that there is a solemn duty and responsibility resting upon us. either the cause or the occasion of division; for that is not a question of principle, but only of expediency. In the judgment of Mr. Garrison, the proper time for dissolution had arrived; but if our meetings by, and one which has out too seidom, in our opin-ion, engaged the attention of our legislation,—the condition of our producing classes. In common with the great majority of the community, we have approached this subject with an entire ignorance of it; and in the belief that there was not, nor could be, genius in the arts have placed as in the vanguard of the nation. Investigation has dispelled this igno-

once distinguished the mechanic and the workman, we have cringing servility and supineness. Instead of self-respect and intelligence, we have want of confidence and growing ignorance. Instead of honest pride in the dignity of labor, we have the consciousness of inferiority. Instead of a desire to enter the mechanic arts, we have loathing and disgust of their drudgery and degradation. Instead of labor being the patent of nobility, it is the badge of

The Committee are constrained to say that, from a patient and careful consideration of the subject, they are satisfied that if we would avert national they are satisfied that if we would avert national calamity, and decay, loss of industrial science and strength of execution, preserve the health, life and virtue of the people, secure to ourselves and transmit to our posterity the priceless blessings of liberty and self-government, we must awake to the importance of this subject; and if not in the spirit of philanthropy, at least for self-protection, do justice to it.

In view of the late moment at which the Com-

nittee was appointed, and want of time, I attention which it deserves, we ompanying Resolve.

> E. H. ROGERS. CHARLES R. McLEAY,
> GEORGE L. SAWIN,
> GEORGE W. PATCH JOHN W. MAHAN, HENRY SHOPE HENRY SHORTLE, REUBEN BOYNTON COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSEITS. In the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and 800

RESOLVE Resolved, That a com ppointed by the Gover appointed by the Governor—without collect information and statistics, hours of labor, the condition and partial classes, with such other in y deem proper; and report the stigation to the next legislature for

PHRENOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF LINCOLN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. [The following was in type before the ann

The physiological organization of the Presi The physiological organization of this gentler most remarkable, he being unusually tall, span possessing a prominent bony and cossess syste possesses almost an excess of the motive ter ment, and not a very high degree of the vital mental temperament is fully developed, and he influence on his general tone of organization, distinct feature of his general characteristics. influence on his general tone of organized distinct feature of his general character dustry and action. His temperaments bility and deliberation, and general unental action; hence he is less subject than one with more vital and nervous has that kind of mind, which generals. has that kind of mind which enables has that kind of mind which enables him before he acts, and to act with more unifor if he were more prompt and off-haid. His ical developments are also very marked. I the greatest men in the world, and yet his tion does not indicate so much brilliane originality of mind, but he is very strongly in the social brain. He is extremole in in the social brain. He is extremely hig ears to the top of his head, and broad b ears to the top of his head, and broad between parietal bones, indicating unusual produces, in thought, justice, integrity, firmness, stainly perseverance. He is largely developed in two tion and benevolence, and the forehead indicate unusual degree of perceptive power, talent to quire knowledge, and ability to become acquair with men and things, to gather up facts, to repeat the product of th ber what has been going on, and to as the occasion requires. Taking his cinto account, he should be known for friendly, social, and companionable in learn disposition, and for his desire to present the companion of the self upon the same platform with others in self upon the same platform with others in sociand to enjoy them as common friends. He shalso be characterized for looking ahead, proving the future, and for doing things only as fast a occasion requires, guarding himself against an tremes, and for taking only such a position a tremes, and for taking only such a position as the same platform and with his very large. reenes, and for taking only such a position at conscientiousness, he never moves from that he once takes. Very few indivihave a higher brain over firmness, which rend him exceedingly steady and tenacious, and combin with consci ness, and only average destructiveness, die him for taking any reckless and despera or for doing anything merely for the sake of accomplishing any selfish end. He would scarcely knot any other way than to do his duty. His passion and impulses are only average in development consequently, that which would be a temptate to others would not be to him, and be could not easily give his entire energies in one direction as and he could not so easily be diverted from an ject until his end was accomplished. He has not er travagant hope, is not easily elated or diverted from his plans by brighter prospects being presented by im. He would know no other way than that of

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him. He would know no other way supported by pursuing a course which his own matured judgment had laid out for him. Ideality, spirituality, and in had laid out for him. Ideality, spirituality, and in had laid out for him. Ideality, spirituality, and in-itation are not strongly developed, and he is not particularly enthusiastic or easily captivated by any brilliant project or new speculation. He would be the same under all circumstances, and would purse one uniform course without reference to custon, fashion or position; those who knew him once would always find him the same. His head is especially developed in the lower part of his forehead, and aleveloped in the lower part of his forehead, and hough his head is high and broad, yet it rece somewhat from the perceptive faculties giving the somewhat from the perceptive faculties giving the a decided advantage; hence he should be known for his unusual perceptive intellect, practical talest, and availability of mind, as well as ability to apply is knowledge in a practical common sense form He has large order, which aids to give general sys tem and method. He also has large mirthfuln which, combined with order, comparison, eventuality and individuality, enables him to make many practi cal and witty remarks and to relate many appropriate anecdotes, and to turn jokes in a most felicitor ate anecdotes, and to turn jokes in a most rencousand appropriate manner. He has large human nature, which gives him power to perceive the character and motives of others, and enables him to dage himself with propriety to those with whom he is connected. His contrivance is also rather large, which gives versatility to his manner, and enal dapt himself to the various kinds of work which h has to perform. His comparison is imm and enables him to suit everything to the occasi and to make the most of his circumstances and knowledge. He has not an abundance of language, is not particularly copious, uses only sufficient la guage to communicate his ideas, would not be cha acteristic for copiousness of speech, or for taste an display, or yet for that kind of mind which leads t the development of new thoughts or abstract resoning. Self-esteem does not appear to be large. consequently he would not be known for any greamount of dignity, pride, self-reliance, or the day sition to command and take responsibility; in far rather wanting in dignity, self-love and ostentation. The predominant mental qualities are affection ice, justice, will, reverence, sympathy. ractical and perceptive intellect renders him practical common sense man, and disposes him take life as it is, and to regulate himself by his want rather than to make any display, or to show of an put on airs. His career thus far has been upward and successful, having never failed in any important transaction. He began life in a very humble manner, without the common advantages of education. He has worked up to be the most prominent man in office in the Livia office in the United States, and under the most tring irreumstances he has been reflected to the same sosition with a greater majority of votes than be eceived at his first election.

#### IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing "WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNS LA.

WOULD inform the public that she has removed in 223 Washington Street, to 223 Washington Street, to 226 WINTER STREET, where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair. She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as the for many years made the hair her study, and is sure that are none to excel her in producing a new growth of har length of the forest. The characteristic differs from that of any one else, length of the forest of th

training grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its ra ral color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to spake her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are seninevery city in the country. They are also packed for the customers to take to Europe with them, enough to lastre or three years, as they often say they can get achief abroad like them.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER, No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

### Farm for Sale Franklin, Mass., MONTAINING thirty-five acres of tillage and patter

barn, and carrings house, all in excellent order, some fourteen years a ro, with all the modern in ments, range, bath, &t. Also, apple, post and trees, grapes, carrents, etc. Further information obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 221 Washing Street, Boston.

therefore, m to the field, ment too so But now the sare in the being won, a who has a confirmits of both it is simple I advocate in the same in which says to surely. The action with a sidence in the says to surely. deace of the triumphantl to be gone martyrdoms titudes of n great marty by the hand yet be need I have s brings with four million four million All the won All the won cies of the falsified. They say to that you we cannot ten thievish va they say to the cannot ten and they say to the cannot ten they say to the cannot ten and they say to the cannot ten they say the cannot ten the cannot te

a great ma riously feat be so or na particulari Show that ous and fa ready to economical commical ry months are ready to selves and in your point your point your point your point your point your point and a great ed and the selves to give themselves to give and free and free and free to come to come to you will the might, a might, a might, a might, a wages to fature.

As and lab wages to fature and, as a said Hocse how now has your point your p